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ABSTRACT

A study described and analyzed the uses of literacy at school, home, and work of two working adults labeled functionally illiterate, as measured by a score of 5.0 or less on a standardized reading test. Data were collected over an 18-month period by observation at five sites, which included the classroom, work sites, and homes of the participants. Data collected and analyzed included field notes, researcher memos, transcripts of audiotapes, documents, personal records, and information interviews. The study found that school was a place where judgments and assumptions were made about the participants. Judgments and assumptions were based on standardized test scores and affected the curriculum, teaching practices, class placement, and labeling of these adults. The school programs underestimated and misunderstood these adults and limited access to knowledge, mobility, and power. Five factors describing these adults were identified: resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success. The study concluded that the integration of these factors into an educational program for working adults would result in improved instruction and greater program success. (The document includes 116 references and six appendixes containing documents used by the two case study subjects.) (Author/KC)

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ADULT LITERACY: CASE STUDIES OF ADULTS ATTENDING LITERACY CLASSES

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DISSERTATION

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Special thanks to Jackie D. and Gerald M. who enabled me to understand the responsibility and importance of valuing individuals for who they are, and the contexts within which they function.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my resource network: especially my husband Stephen, whose courage and integrity have and will always be my inspiration, and my parents William and Gertrude Boren, who provided access to a liberating education.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

Introduction

There is a crisis in American education today. Jonathan Kozol (1985) states there are 60 million low literate adults in the United States who "are substantially excluded from the democratic process and the ordinary commerce of a print society" (p. 3). The nation's adults with literacy problems are estimated at 20 million to 85 million, depending on numerous variables. The discrepancies in numbers are in large part due to basic differences in the definitions of literacy used, the criteria used as a measure, and the difficulty in collecting valid data.

These adults are often described as isolated and alienated. Fingeret (1989) states that the image of these adults as sad, inarticulate individuals has become embedded within our culture. Many of these individuals return to adult education classes. Harman and Hunter (1985) estimate that the drop-out rate among students enrolled in adult education programs is as high as 50%-70%. Jackie D. and Gerald M., the two case studies presented in this study,

fell into these categories. On the Test of Adult Basic Education each scored less than 5.0.

There is a controversy regarding our concept of literacy. On the one hand, UNESCO in 1965 presented a definition: A person is literate who can with understanding both read and write a short, simple statement on his everyday life (p. 13). Hirsch (1987), however, defines literacy in its most profound sense as the possession of the "basic information needed to thrive in the modern world" (p. xiii). The connection between either of these descriptions and the tests used to assess literacy and adult basic education courses needed to be studied.

Although there is a great deal of statistical information regarding the adult illiterate and the problem of literacy in America, little has been done to look closely at the adults who bear these labels. As Harman and Hunter state (1985), we cannot begin to develop programs for these adults,

> without understanding more about the adult illiterates themselves--not just how they learn, but who they are, why there are so many, what their life circumstances and problems are, what they think they need. (p. xxiv)

Statement of the Problem

The initial purpose of this hypothesis-generating case study was to describe how two adults labeled functionally

illiterate by a score of 5.0 or below on the Test of Adult Basic Education function in school, at home, and at work. A score of 5.0 was chosen because of its international acceptance as a criterion for functional literacy.

The initial questions which motivated this study were:

1. What is the range of literacy activities in class, at home, and at work, of adults who score 5.0 or below on a standardized reading test?

    a. What uses of text does each individual display in class, at home, and at work?

    b. What values are demonstrated concerning the use of literacy in class, at home, and at work?

    c. What are the expectations for their own literacy in class, at home, and at work?

    d. How are these adults similar?

2. How does each individual's personal construct impact on how each adult perceives participation in literate events in class, at home, and at work; and how does the setting (class, home, work) influence the adults' perceptions and activities?

As data were collected and analyzed, these questions grew into larger and broader issues. The first issue was to look at literacy in school. School literacy was focused on testing and reading scores. Activities were focused on a discrete set of skills aimed at raising tested reading

scores. At home and work, literacy was used in a variety of purposeful and meaningful activities. This led to researcher to question further the entire literacy issue. What was happening at home and work that was different from school, and vice versa? The broader picture which began to emerge from the data focused on the abilities and capabilities versus the deficits that school focused on. This led to a further investigation of school policy and practices, and a closer look at whether or not participants' abilities and goals matched school goals and policy. There was no match. Eventually the participants dropped out of school and became part of the statistical crisis in America.

The questions that were raised and the process of refocusing the study are reflected in Chapter 3, as is a report on the categories which emerged from the data. A discussion of the findings is reported in Chapters 4 and 7. This sequence is consistent with the format for hypothesis generating research reported by Brause (in press) and Merriam (1988).

Theoretical Rationale

"Little is known about the actual uses of literacy by low literate adults living in the environments of cities"

(Lytle & Landau, 1987, p. 213). Similarly, Scribner and Cole (1978) state that an important research task is

> finding out what people in various communities and walks of life do with literacy, how they use their knowledge of reading and writing, to what tasks they apply it, and how they accomplish the tasks. (p. 459)

This study was designed to address some of these concerns.

The following issues inform our current understanding of literacy of adults who received a score of 5.0 or below on a standardized reading test: The Literacy Issue; Socio-cultural Contexts of Literacy; Assessment, Measuring and Testing.

The Literacy Issue

Five aspects of literacy are considered in this section: low literates: defining terms; functional literacy and statistics: quantifying the issue; literacy and personal constructs; literacy and politics; and theories of literacy.

Low Literates: Defining Terms

American involvement in two World Wars and the United Nations' desire to promote worldwide schooling account for the focus of world attention on literacy. One of the major problems surrounding literacy is one of definition. There is still no uniformly accepted definition of the characteristics of adult literacy (Harman, 1987). A

tendency to interchange "literacy" and "illiteracy" have added to the confusion which may be equated to describing a glass of water as half empty or half full.

Harman and Hunter (1985) have noted that the unfortunate tendency to use terms like literacy, illiteracy, functional literacy loosely,

> has led to many misapprehensions and unfounded claims about what literacy is, what can or cannot be expected of a literate/illiterate person, how it ties into economic development and the disregard for what individuals and groups need and want within their own social setting and the imposition of programs believed to be good for them. (p. 14)

Descriptions of low literate adults fall into two categories. One group includes those adults who do not distinguish the letters of the alphabet and do not write. A second group, the vast majority of low literates, are frequently labeled functional literates. It is the meaning of functional literate which is unclear.

The definition of functional literacy is constantly changing. During World War Two the U.S. Army selected a fifth grade equivalent as a convenient standard for literacy, and this fifth grade level was adapted as an international criterion for functional literacy (Harman & Hunter, 1985).

Gray's 1956 survey for UNESCO considered a person functionally literate "when he has acquired knowledge and skills in reading and writing which enable him to engage in

activities in which literacy is assumed in his culture or group (Gray, 1956, p. 24). This definition is independent of psychometrically developed standardized reading tests. Such use of standardized tests is inconsistent with the identification of context specificity.

Nafziger, Thompson, Hiscox and Owen (1975) writing for The United States Office of Education defined a functionally literate person as

> one who has acquired the essential knowledge and skills in reading and writing and computation required for effective functioning in society and whose attainment in such skills makes it possible for him to develop new aptitude and to participate actively in the life of his times. (p. 21)

UNESCO (1976) equated functional literacy with employment tasks and stated that functional literacy

> should be regarded as a way of preparing man for a social, civil and economic role that goes far beyond the limits of rudimentary literacy training consisting merely in the teaching of reading and writing. (p. 10)

In the same year (1976), the United States passed the Adult Education Act which equated completion of secondary school with functional literacy.

This study describes the literacy activities or functions which the individuals in this study use for their unique purposes, and provides evidence of the range of literacy events these adults participate in, and their proficiency in utilizing these activities to accomplish their unique intentions.

Functional Literacy and Statistics: Quantifying the Issue

Estimates of the extent of the American population regarded as functional literates vary. The National Advisory Council (1986) reports that there is a "lack of effort" made to collect valid data. Current literature reports large discrepancies in numbers. For the most part this is due to basic differences in the definition of functional literacy used to calculate each estimate, the criteria used to collect data, the inability to collect valid data, and the decision as to how to describe the phenomenon.

Criteria for calculating estimates of the numbers of functional literates fall into several categories which cause numbers to vary greatly. The U.S. Census Bureau, which provides the most widely available statistics, calculates numbers on the basis of age and grade level completed. In 1969 and 1979, U.S. Census Bureau statistics were calculated for the age group over 14 who had completed sixth grade. However, their 1986 findings described a population over 20 who had completed the sixth grade. Confounding this problem is the inconsistency in interviewing. According to Harman and Hunter (1985):

> In the person to person sampling, individual Census takers may or may not ask those who have not completed sixth grade whether they can read and write a simple message in any language. (p. 25)

According to Weber (1977), most current discussions which use schooling as a measure of functional literacy describe a functional literate as a person who has had either five or eight years of schooling.

In contrast to collecting statistics on the basis of age and schooling, the Harris studies (1970 & 1971) used a series of tasks to quantify the number of functional literates within our population.

There are potentially many variables to consider and very little agreement on which measures should be used. Harman and Hunter (1985) state that without this agreement it is impossible to render a national figure. They question the value of such a figure to begin with. "There is nothing particularly useful in the statement that one region ranks below another in its literacy rates" (Harman & Hunter, 1985, p. 44). There is no clear cut agreement on who is to be considered functionally literate or how many fall into the category. Without agreement on the meaning of the term, the term is useless.

Literacy and Personal Constructs

Experiences and values impact on the way in which adults in a literacy class perceive themselves as learners. Personal experience particularly with schooling also

impacts on the expectations adults have for their own literacy, and the expectations they bring to class.

Adults entering literacy classes have had previous experience with schooling and school failure which affect their belief in themselves as learners and their expectations for what school should be. Britton (1970) writes that we all construct a representation of the world through our experience. Experience has taught adult literacy students that they have failed at school learning. Risking entry into a literacy class means trying to succeed where they have previously failed.

There is a tendency, according to Illich (1971), to confuse teaching with learning and he says adult illiterates learn that in order to amount to something people must depend on schools to unlock all doors. Adults entering literacy classes have a view of literacy in general and their own literacy in particular. Kelly (1963) states that as man experiences the world he formulates in his own way constructs through which he views the world of events. These constructs allow him to predict or forecast events. It is therefore difficult to separate how one construes oneself as a learner and how one uses literacy. Individual adults limit their own access to literacy because of a belief that all literacy relates to schooling and adults in literacy classes have failed at school.

Teachers influenced by low test scores on standardized measures limit adult access to literacy events.

This study describes the range of literacy activities of working adults who score 5.0 or below on a standardized reading test as influenced by their expectations regarding success at performing literacy events, their perceptions of literacy in general, and their own use of literacy in particular.

Literacy and Politics

Heath (1984) makes the point that if we continue to assume that literacy is a sub-set of skills to be mastered we insure a continuation of narrow gatekeeping practices in this country:

> Admissions departments and employers who control access to higher education and high status jobs promise entry not to those who have not only acquired literacy skills but to those who have become literate. . . . It is unfashionable, except in certain narrow circles to discuss what being literate means. (p. 2)

She believes researchers ignore literate behaviors and the contexts in which literate behaviors occur, and instead, concentrate on skills. This assumption is supported by Postman (1970) who states:

> All educational practices are profoundly political in the sense that they are designed to produce one sort of human being rather than another--which is to say an educational system always proceeds from some model of what a human being ought to be like. (p. 244).

Literacy programs for the most part are attempting to produce adults who exhibit skills associated with literacy.

Literacy when approached from Freire's (1970) standpoint is transformed from a mere technical skill into a component of a process that implies values, develops mentalities, and leads to social and political activity. Freire believes that learners must look critically at their own social situation in order to take steps to change the society that has previously denied them an opportunity to participate. The way to do this is by changing the teaching/learning system from one of a focus on skills to one that promotes a feeling of self-worth, the perception of oneself as an agent of change, and the desire to be liberated. Freire believes that education must contribute to changing the learner from an object into a subject that promotes action and who participates fully in society--without limitations. Freire (1970) writes of literacy education as empowering and defines the role of educators as one of helping students to define and identify their own empowerment.

According to Fingeret (1984), literacy education has the potential to influence the relationship between individuals, groups, and the larger society. Literacy education "affects the distribution of knowledge and therefore the potential use of knowledge as power" (p. 41).

Literacy education can result in individuals and groups demanding a new status in society--particularly when individuals learn literate behavior rather than a discrete set of skills. In this sense literacy education is a political tool. It is no secret that

> those persons in our society who lack sufficient reading and writing skills to function effectively are found in larger numbers wherever there are poor people and wherever there are congregated racial and ethnic minority groups. (Harman & Hunter, 1985, p. 31)

If we continue to define literacy as performance on a discrete set of skills rather than as an empowering set of behaviors, we continue to limit access for the poor and minority population to what Smith (1987) terms the literacy club. The literate majority secure in its position of dominance, partially attributes its success to literacy, and guards entrance into literate domains (Harman & Hunter, 1985).

This study describes the uses of literacy by adults whose abilities have been defined in terms of their performance on a sub-set of discrete skills. These adults received scores of 5.0 or below on a standardized test and are considered to be low skilled by the teacher and class placement counselor. The study describes the range of literacy activities of these adults, including their activities at home and at work which have political impact.

Theories of Literacy

Literacy theories can be divided into two categories, (a) literacy as a neutral, autonomous, or objective set of skills, and (b) literacy as cultural, ideological, and social (Street, 1984).

> The autonomous model assumes literacy may be considered a neutral and objective skill or set of skills independent of any specific social context of ideology. (Street, 1984, p. 48)

From the perspective of the autonomous model, literacy programs revolve around the diagnosing of deficits and the teaching of skills.

> This approach assumes that the social consequences of literacy are given--greater opportunities for jobs, social mobility, fuller lives--and what agencies need to address is how literacy is to be imparted. (Street, 1987, p. 48)

The autonomous view isolates literacy as an independent variable which can be studied, measured, and taught. This view is congruent with the deficit model of literacy which holds the view that one measures skills and prescribes methods of correcting the deficits.

In contrast to Street's (1984) autonomous model of literacy is his model which focuses on the social, political, and economic nature of literacy practices. They may differ from group to group within a society as well as from society to society. Those who subscribe to the

ideological model, Street suggests, concentrate on the specific social practices of reading and writing.

> The model stresses the significance of the socialization process in the construction of the meaning of literacy for participants, and is therefore concerned with the general social institutions through which this process takes place and not just the specific educational ones. (Street, 1987, p. 49)

Freire's (1983) view is consistent with an ideological model. He argues that learning to read and write is fundamentally a political act. For Freire, reading the "world precedes reading the word, and reading the word implies continually reading the world" (p. 10). Literacy in Freire's view involves interpreting and changing the existing social structures. Being literate for Freire means using knowledge and experience to make sense of the world, not just decoding or encoding a set of symbols.

Hirsch (1987) subscribes to a theory of cultural literacy which provides a conflicting model, incorporating elements of both the autonomous and the ideological model. From the ideological perspective his theory holds that literacy is far more than a skill and that it requires large amounts of specific information. He calls this information "cultural literacy" and describes it as the network of information that all competent readers in a particular culture possess.

> The chief function of literacy is to make us masters of this standard instrument of knowledge and communication thereby enabling us to give and receive

> complex information orally and in writing over time and space. (p. 3)

However, Hirsch then proposes to evaluate this literacy by the identification of discrete details, consistent with the autonomous model.

Frank Smith (1975) relates literacy and learning to making sense of the world and states that the only effective and meaningful way in which anyone can learn is to relate new experiences to what one already believes or knows. For Smith, all learning is connecting and therefore all learning begins with the learner. For Smith, all learning must be understood within the context of the learner's experiences and cannot be separated into a sub-set of discrete autonomous skills. In describing the uses of literacy by participants in a literacy program, the researcher looked at literacy from a socio-cultural, ideological perspective.

Socio-Cultural Contexts

The extent to which individuals learn to read and write depends greatly on the role literacy plays in their families, communities, and jobs, according to Heath (1980).

Heath's classic ethnographic study Ways With Words (1983) makes the point that there are a plurality of literacies. If one accepts this fact, it is easy to understand the difficulty of defining and measuring

literacy with a standardized test. Literacy today is understood mainly in terms of an individual's capacity to handle the written word.

> The conceptual frameworks within which literacy has been understood have been mainly created by reading experts, psychologists, and school teachers who are preoccupied with assessment. (Levine, 1982, p. 263)

Reading, according to Harman (1987), has value beyond its function as a vocational tool. It is intrinsically valuable as a means of self-fulfillment and self-enrichment. Harman (1987) states that values such as literacy are built into the culture. Environments in which reading is not regarded as a value are unlikely for appreciable literacy development. To get to the root of the literacy dilemma, then, it is necessary to examine cultures.

> If a culture or subculture relegates reading to its periphery--or accords it no place at all--the issue is not one of individual illiteracy but of cultural illiteracy. (Harman, 1987, p. 44)

When we consider literacy within social and cultural contexts we must "consider the application and exercise of reading and writing skill to specific bodies and types of information" (Levine, 1982, p. 263). Public attention is consistently focused on literacy skills. We label, test, measure, define, and talk about Americans in terms of skills they can or cannot perform. It is behaviors which are linked to literacy which are isolated and tested. In

this context, purposeful reading is left unattended by researchers and schools. Also ignored are the contexts in which adults utilize literacy strategies.

In contrast to established practice, Harman (1987) notes literacy is situational and can only be defined and tackled in context. Heath states that when we ignore behavior, context, and value systems, and focus on skills,

> we ignore the denial of life chances and choices for a major portion of the population. . . . Access to all but the most menial of jobs now demands far more than literacy skills; upward socioeconomic movement depends upon being literate and being a citizen who behaves and thinks as literates should. (Heath, 1984, p. 2)

Understanding literate behaviors requires an understanding of the culture within which these behaviors occur. Understanding literacy as an activity, rather than a skill, requires observation of how individuals use literacy within contexts. Perhaps we ignore literate behaviors and focus on skills because "keeping such criteria for upward movement subtle and unspecified guarantees gatekeeping within our culture" (Heath, 1984, p. 3).

This study describes subjects' engagement in writing and reading activities on the job, in the classroom and at home.

Assessment, Measurement, and Testing

Traditional literacy assessment, testing, and measurement imply that literacy is an isolated activity, independent of other activities, and one which can be measured in isolation. Poor performance is interpreted to mean that a person lacks literacy skills. In this view adults who are not proficient in these discrete tasks are identified as having deficits and needing intensive remedial work.

Tests that focus solely on the technical skills of reading address only a part of the process integral to becoming more literate in this society.

> The complexity and richness of adult learners' lives seems to demand the development of more holistic and grounded assessment processes rather than a simplistic assumption of a one-dimensional learning continuum or the implicit use of a deficit/remedial model. (Lytle, Marmor, & Penner, 1986, p. 1)

Additionally, current knowledge about the process of reading suggests a more complex phenomenon.

Bransford in the book Human Cognition (1979) notes that there are four basic factors to be considered when evaluating questions about learning, understanding, and remembering. He mentions the nature of the material to be learned, the learner's current knowledge, skills, and attitudes, the manner in which the learner approaches the material and the types of tasks used for evaluation.

This view is supported by Lytle et al. (1986), and is referred to as a holistic or socio-cultural view of literacy. Such a view would allow for the evaluation of adults in the context of how they use and practice literacy in adult life. A socio-cultural view of literacy implies a different approach to assessment. This approach

> provides an opportunity for a systematic study of what literacy means to different learners, what counts as literacy to different groups and individuals within this society, as well as what strategies adult learners bring to their interactions with print. (Lytle, Marmor, & Pinner, 1986, p. 2)

The TABE taken by the adults in this study is an adaptation of the California Achievement Test developed for elementary grade school children. The examiner's manual (1976) published by McGraw-Hill describes the test items as adapted from the 1970 edition of The California Achievement Test. According to the publishers, the items "reflect language and content appropriate for adults, and measure the understanding and application of conventions and principles" (p. 1). However, there is no objective validation of this assertion. One concern with using the TABE is the appropriateness of transferring a model used for children to adult learners. Stedman and Kaestle (1987) have found that reading levels do not easily map onto literacy standards needed for specific job functions. Sticht and Mikulecky (1984) have found:

> an underlying assumption behind concern about basic skills levels in the workplace is that job performance is related to basic skills of workers. The research suggests that there is a relationship, but that it is by no means overwhelming or direct. (p. 7)

What do grade level standards tell us about individuals? The deficit model assumes that literacy is an autonomous activity, consisting of an isolatable, atomistic, autonomous sub-set of skills which requires intensive drillwork to increase low scores. Such an increase is presumed to carry over into all types of literacy activities. A socio-cultural assessment considers the individual, and the uses of literacy by that individual. The researcher looked at adults who have been tested on the TABE which yields a grade level equivalent score. The relationship between and among scores on this test, students' literacy activities, and teacher assumptions about these students' skills and needs, was studied as a basis for understanding the teaching/learning situation in the classes attended by these students. The researcher describes the uses of literacy by these adults in such classes as contrasted with their literacy activities at home and at work.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

This study of the uses of literacy by adults attending literacy classes is influenced by research into adult learning and reading.

Adult Learning

Sprinthall and Sprinthall (1983) suggest that there is a dearth of information concerning adult growth and the ability of adults to learn. "Certainly a most common assumption about adults is the no-growth, no change hypothesis" (p. 22). Sprinthall and Sprinthall (1983) point out that

> conception of adulthood as a period of slow cognitive-developmental degeneration is invalid and the stability of functioning during adulthood may well be the result of inadequate stimulating interaction. . . . Adults do not regress cognitively, and it may be possible to restart the developmental motor, so to speak, to nurture further growth. (p. 22)

Studies by Baltes and Schaie (1976) have found that intelligence does not decline as humans age. Rather, they have shown that inductive reasoning, spatial ability, and verbal ability actually show slight increases in capacity well into middle age. In the areas of problem solving,

generalization, and concept formation, their study showed no decline until after retirement age. Baltes and Schaie (1976) suggest a concept of plasticity rather than one of degeneration. That is, adults can learn new abilities and improve old abilities. The plasticity hypothesis suggests that under certain conditions adults may increase cognitively or developmentally.

Bart (1977), a Piagetian researcher, has found that only 30% of adults reach some aspect of formal thought. However, his findings indicate that adult education could be designed to foster the growth potential of formal thought particularly in modern technological societies which require formal operations. He advocates adults learning hypothetical reasoning vis-a-vis their individual fields of endeavor. Sprinthall and Sprinthall (1983) suggest that adult growth and the ability to learn depend upon appropriate interaction with a responsive environment. Bruner (1966) contends that since learning and problem solving depend upon the exploration of options, learners should be encouraged to explore alternatives. This would encourage learners to develop independent skills and confidence in their ability to perform on their own. An underlying assumption for Bruner is that cognitive learning takes place best when inquiry is prompted by the learner's own motivation and when learners are relatively free from

the influence of external rewards and punishments. Bruner describes this as the autonomy of self reward.

One of the most significant contributions to emerge from adult education research and practice has been the realization that many adults do learn in self-directed endeavors. Tough's (1979) seminal research work has concluded that 90% of the adult population engage in at least one intentional or self-planned learning activity per year which lasts approximately 100 hours. A large percentage of these projects are planned and carried out primarily by the learners themselves and as Tough (1979) concludes, most of the learning takes place outside of formal school settings.

Illich (1971) states:

> Learning is the human activity which least needs manipulation by others. Most learning is not the result of instruction. . . . It is rather the result of unhampered participation in a meaningful setting. . . . Most people learn best by being with it. (p. 56)

Using Tough's (1979) research model, Leean and Sisco (1981) undertook a two-year study in Vermont known as the NIE Adult Learning Project which studied the self-planned learning efforts of rural adults, especially those having less than 12 years of education. This project confirmed Tough's research in that "nearly everyone interviewed reported at least one learning project" (p. 15). Hiemstra (1976) points to the fact that the adult learner has a need

for self directed individual learning, for to be an adult means "to possess a certain amount of self-motivation and to be capable of making decisions about life and its problems" (p. 33).

Mezirow (1981) states that

> central to the adult educator's function is a goal of and method of self-directed learning. . . . Enhancing the learner's ability for self direction in learning as a foundation for a distinctive philosophy of adult education has breadth and power. . . . It represents the mode of learning characteristic of adulthood. (p. 21)

Self-directed learning is generally accepted as the most important goal by professionals engaged in adult education. Mezirow (1981) points out that learning to become self-directed is directly related to one's ability to spell out the specifics of experience through dialogue. For Vygotsky (1962), language or dialogue embodies the means of organizing this experience. It is language therefore which is at the center of self-directed adult learning and it is through language that adults increase understanding and learning. Vygotsky (1962) states that language is thought made manifest. To influence the thought of the learner one must influence the learner's language. Freire (1970) views language as the way to an emancipatory education which involves power and an interest in self-knowledge, self-reflection and the way in which one sees oneself and one's roles and social expectations.

Freire believes in "conscientization" which is the arousing of man's positive self-concept in relation to his environment and society through an education based on dialogue and problem-posing. This process of adult education depends upon the use of language to explore one's world, oneself, and one's experiences.

The characteristics of adult learners have been identified from a different perspective by Mezirow (1981). He equates adult learners with self-directed learners. A self-directed learner according to Mezirow (1981)

> must be understood as one who is aware of the constraints on his efforts to learn. . . . A self-directed learner has access to alternative perspectives for understanding his or her situation and for giving meaning and direction to his or her life, has acquired sensitivity and competence in social interaction and has the skills and competencies associated with controlling and manipulating the environment. (p. 21)

As a way to connect Freire's perspective and Mezirow's perspective, language production manifests knowledge. It puts a learner in touch with his own thought or knowledge. It allows the learner to explore and become self-directing. This study seeks to identify the contexts in which adult learners participate as a way to understand their uses of literacy in learning.

The term andragogy is used by Knowles (1970) to describe the art and science of helping adults to learn. He agrees with Mezirow's theory of the learner as a self-

director and theorizes that the greatest learning takes place when teaching methods and techniques involve the individual most deeply in self-directed inquiry. The underlying assumption for Knowles (1970) is that the adult learner has a deep psychological need not only to be self-directing but also to be perceived by others as being self-directing.

> Andragogy as a professional perspective of adult educators must be defined as an organized and sustained effort to assist adults to learn in a way that enhances their capability to function as self-directed learners. (Mezirow, 1981, p. 21)

Principles of Adult Reading

Hall and Coley (1975) point out that although reading instruction is a major concern for some adult education programs, few reading authorities have devoted attention to reading instruction for adults exhibiting reading problems. Consequently, according to Hall and Coley (1975) there is a "paucity of information on how adult illiterates read" (p. 103).

Malicky and Norman (1982) studied the nature of reading strategies used by adult illiterates in an adult basic education setting. Sixteen adults (pre- and post-tested on the Wide Range Achievement Test) were studied over a ten week period. The comparison of scores on the WRAT administered on a pre-post basis resulted in the

identification of two groups: the no gain group and the gain group. The researchers report the no gain group attended mostly to letters and words and less on the grammatical system at entry into the study. Those in the no gain group made less use than those in the gain group of their knowledge of the structure of language to predict words as they read. Over the ten weeks, however, the strategies of those in the no gain group began to change. Malicky and Norman hypothesize that

> the heavy focus on the interactive and communicative nature of reading employed by the instructors in the study helped the no gain group to begin to rely more heavily on the knowledge of language they brought with them to the program. (p. 735)

Raisner (1978) investigated the miscues of 14 non-proficient readers at a state college. The results of the Malicky and Norman study (1982) confirm Raisner's findings. The adults in the Raisner study (1978) relied heavily on graphophonic information and less heavily on syntactic cues. Raisner concludes:

> these subjects seemed to have been taught that reading consists of pronouncing words and did not seem to sense that reading is a process for which all their language knowledge can be put to use. (p. 46)

Gambrell and Heathington (1981) state that "an important area which has received little attention is that of the adult disabled reader's perceptions of the reading process" (p. 216). They studied 28 adults enrolled in a Right To Read Adult Academy. The results of their study

show that adult poor readers did not perceive the importance of the task or the strategy dimension of reading. However, poor readers perceived the variables of motivation, interest, and prior knowledge. Gambrell and Heathington hypothesize:

> Since adult poor readers appear to understand the relevance of these task variables an instructional strategy such as the language experience approach which is theoretically based upon the factors of motivation, interest, and prior knowledge would seem to hold promise for the adult disabled reader. (p. 220)

The findings also indicate that adult poor readers appear to perceive reading as a

> decoding process rather than as a meaning construction or comprehension task. . . . Only when told that the purpose for reading a passage was to re-tell the information to someone else did the adult poor readers respond that it was important to understand or comprehend. (p. 220)

Rigg and Taylor (1979) worked with a 21-year-old non-reader using a whole language approach. Research by Gambrell and Heathington (1981) and Malicky and Norman (1982) suggests that this approach would hold promise for the adult disabled reader. Rigg and Taylor (1979) did not rely on word lists, decoding or isolated activities. "We didn't work at all on any skills" (p. 55). The researchers believed that if the subject was given

> materials to read that were interesting to her and that used whole natural language, especially language that reflected her style of speech, that she could and would read. . . . In 20 hours of tutoring she became convinced that she could read and she did read. . . .

> never been asked to do in school. . . . We asked her to read and then we got out of her way and let her do it. (p. 56)

Sticht (1987) found that

> marginally literate adults in a job related reading program made twice the gain in job related reading than they did in general reading suggesting that the more rapid learning of particular types of reading will occur when training is specifically focused on that type of reading rather than general literacy. (p. 216)

Sticht's work is based on a language approach to teaching adults to read which he calls the reading potential concept. Sticht states that adult marginal literates can make rapid increases in literacy because of the opportunities they have had to acquire concepts through oral language. Sticht's theory holds that adults first develop vocabulary and comprehension skills by listening and speaking. When they begin to read they learn to comprehend by reading what they previously could only comprehend by listening. Adults bring to the training situation a relatively large capability of comprehending spoken language. In learning to read, then, one of the adult's major tasks is to "comprehend the printed form of language with the same accuracy and efficiency as he or she comprehends the spoken form" (p. 213). Adults make rapid gains in reading text which relates to what they already know and understand in the oral form. Smith (1975) states that all learning is connecting what we know to what we

want to know. Meaningful learning for Smith (1975) is connecting new material to something that is already known that is easily remembered. Postman and Weingartner (1969) state that in all learning language is the driver and what we perceive and thus can learn is a function of the language process.

Two conditions appear highly important for keeping adult literacy students interested in academic learning tasks: utilization of their considerable knowledge of the world, and their active participation in learning (Perrin, 1988, p. 1).

"Reading is conceptualized in the current literature . . . [as]: top down, [or] bottom up" (Fingeret, 1984, p. 9). The bottom up model assumes that comprehension is built upon successful decoding of individual words. This model assumes discrete categories of learning independent of text and meaning and confronts readers with atomistic bits of knowledge they do not know. The top down approach assumes a meaningful context allows for the acquisition of meanings and other atoms. The top down approach builds upon and values what is already known.

> Anyone assuming the responsibility for developing an adult basic skills program should acquire an understanding of the person as an information processing system that develops new capabilities over time using prior knowledge and skills as a means for acquiring new knowledge and skills. (Sticht & Mikulecky, 1984, p. 31)

> Adult literacy students typically have a wealth of experience that can be drawn upon in teaching reading skills. . . . Motivation to learn is enhanced when the learner has some familiarity with and interest in the content of instructional material. . . . Activating the familiarity and interest prior to a reading comprehension task by utilizing students' already existing background knowledge can serve to motivate them to carry out reading comprehension activities. (Perrin, 1988, p. 2)

"What one already knows will affect what one can come to know" (Spiro, 1977, p. 2). Or as Smith (1985) says, all new learning must have some element of the familiar in order for the learner to connect what he knows to what he wants to know. Without the ability to connect, the learner is confronted with what Smith terms nonsense or noise. Language is the active process through which the learner begins to make sense of his or her world.

Current literature supports the theory that the adult learner is a self-directed learner and that learning to become self-directed is related to one's ability to spell out the specifics of experience through dialogue (Mezirow, 1981). This study will add to the current knowledge by describing the uses of literacy in and out of class by adults attending literacy classes.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN: DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND VALIDATION PROCEDURES

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the data collection and data analysis procedures used in this study. This includes a description of the setting, participants, participant selection, and validation procedures.

Observational case study was the research model used in this study to describe and analyze the uses of literacy of two working adults attending adult education classes. Both adults are labeled functionally illiterate defined by a standardized test score of 5.0 or less on the Test of Adult Basic Education. According to Harman and Hunter St. John (1985), the U.S. Army during World War II "selected fifth grade as a convenient standard for literacy" (p. 16). This study describes two adults reading below 5.0 as they function in class, at work, and at home. "A case study is a detailed examination of one setting, or one single subject, or one single depository of documents, or one particular event" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982).

Case study analysis is appropriate for intensive, in depth examination of one (or in a few instances, more than one) phenomenon (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984). According to Yin, a case study is an

> empirical inquiry that: Investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used. (Yin, 1984, p. 23)

As a research endeavor a case study "contributes uniquely to our knowledge of individual, organizational, social, and political phenomena" (Yin, 1984, p. 14). It allows an investigation to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real life events (Yin, 1984, p. 14).

According to Merriam (1989), the most significant contributions to the field of adult education have been made and will continue to be made through the use of qualitative research strategies which include case studies. Merriam (1988) describes case study research, and in particular qualitative case study, as "an ideal design for understanding and interpreting observations of educational phenomena" (p. 2).

The design of the present study was guided by the intentions and research questions discussed in Chapter 1. The questions were refined and the focus grew and changed as the data analysis proceeded and categories emerged.

Data Collection

This section describes the data collection sources and

procedures; the research setting; participant selection; and the participants, Jackie D. and Gerald M.

Sources and Procedures

The researcher collected data over a period of 18 months at fives sites, which included the classroom setting, worksite, and home of the participants.

The data used in this investigation included field notes, researcher memos, transcripts of audio tapes, documents, personal records, and information interviews (see Table 1).

Table 1

Documentation

Number of audio tapes	18
Number of taped interview hours	13
Number of interview hours not taped:	
- Telephone conversations	4
- Classroom observations	32
- Meetings at Teamster Headquarters	24
- Site visits	11
- Interviews with IS 70 staff (teachers and administrators)	8
Number of pages of transcribed tapes	221
Number of pages, field notes, and memos	206
Number of pages, participant documents	64

According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982):

> Data refer to the rough materials researchers collect from the world they are studying; they are the particulars that form the basis of analysis. Data include materials the people doing the study actively record, such as interview transcripts and participant observation field notes. Data also include what others have created and the researcher finds, such as diaries, photographs, official documents, and newspaper articles. (p. 73)

Yin (1984) describes case study data as coming from six possible sources. He includes documents, archival records, interviews, direct observation, participant-observation, and physical artifacts. Data provide the researcher with both evidence and clues and when "systematically and rigorously collected link qualitative research to other forms of science" (Bogdan & Biklen, p. 73).

Patton (1980) describes the data of a case study as

> detailed descriptions of situations, events, people, interactions, and observed behaviors, direct quotations from people about their experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and thoughts and excerpts or entire passages from documents, correspondence, records, and case histories. (p. 22)

Field Notes

> According to Bogdan and Biklen (1982):
> Field notes are the written account of what the researcher hears, sees, experiences, and thinks in the course of collecting and reflecting on the data in a qualitative study. (p. 74)

The researcher took notes during each session with the participants. Sessions are described as visits with the participants as well as telephone conversations. Eighteen

sessions were tape-recorded in addition to the researcher's notes. Notes included researcher observation on the physical setting, comments on participant behavior, the researcher's personal feelings regarding the situation, direct quotes from the participants, and factual data which included test scores and attendance data. Also included in the notes were descriptions and comments regarding the participants. Notes ranged from sketchy comments when the tape recorder was utilized to continuous narrative when the recorder was not on, or in several cases when the researcher did not have either a blank tape or the recorder. Notes were taken during and after each telephone conversation. Merriam (1988) points out that the amount one records during a session varies according to the researcher's role and "the extent to which he or she is a participant in the activity" (p. 96).

> On site recording can thus range from continuous (especially if one is a total observer) to taking sketchy notes, to not recording anything at all during an observation. (p. 96)

Researcher Memoranda

Strauss (1987) points out that researchers are continually engaged in internal dialogue during the process of data collection. Memos, according to Strauss,

> are an essential part of those dialogues, a running record of insights, hunches, hypotheses, discussions about the implications of codes, additional thoughts,

> whatnot . . . [and] cumulatively, the memos add up to and feed into the final integrative statements and the writing for publications. (p. 110)

The researcher wrote memos to herself throughout the process of data collection and analysis. These memos were written on the way to an appointment with a participant, after a visit, or after what the researcher refers to as a "try-out talk." The researcher spent many hours talking to teachers, administrators, project consultants--virtually anyone associated with the work being conducted at the Consortium For Worker Education. These "talks" were a way of voicing the theory that was being formulated by the researcher. The researcher was really dialoging with herself. However, those associated with the project were unwittingly asked to engage in these dialogues with the researcher. Occasionally the researcher found herself talking at someone. These talks helped the researcher to formulate and re-formulate thinking. Memos were written by the researcher following these "talks." Memos ranged in length from sentences to one or more pages.

Audio Tapes

Eighteen participant sessions were tape-recorded. Tapes of sessions ranged in length from 30 minutes to one and one-half hours. A total of 13 hours was recorded by the researcher. The researcher recorded parts of sessions

and supplemented the unrecorded parts with field notes which backed up each taped session. Unrecorded parts included periods of silent work in the classrooms when no one including the researcher was "allowed" to talk. The researcher began transcribing tapes in April, 1988 and continued transcription through January of 1989. Initially the tapes were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. The researcher did not listen to the tape first; rather, she began the process by transcribing. This was a time-consuming and tedious task. Thereafter, the researcher began to listen to the tapes first--from beginning to end several times--and match the tapes with field notes taken during the taping. The tapes were then transcribed in parts which the researcher thought appropriate. Initially these parts included segments of the participants' conversation. Two tapes were transcribed entirely during this initial screening process--tape 4 (an interview with Jackie D.), and tape 2 (the initial interview with Gerald M.). As the data analysis continued, the researcher went back to the tapes and transcribed parts which were pertinent to the data analysis in process.

Documents

Documents collected included notebooks, a menu and restaurant check, GED transcripts, essays, TABE test score

results, attendance records, a note, magazines, letters, journal entries, a resume, notebooks, business records, class work, and copies of class assignments. In total, the researcher collected 64 pages of participant documents. The researcher asked each participant to maintain a journal in a notebook which she gave them. Jackie began her journal in January of 1988. She showed the researcher her initial entries and expressed concern about "doing it wrong." After discussion about the journal and the purpose of journal entries with the researcher, Jackie independently made entries between January 1988 and May 1988. Her initial entries were about school activities. Later, entries were more personal. Jackie willingly gave the researcher her journal, and also willingly shared all documents with the researcher. Gerald was also asked to keep a journal. He called the researcher before writing his first entry to find out what was considered "right" for a journal. Gerald and the researcher spoke of the purpose of the journal as well as the concept of right and wrong entries. Gerald's entries were about work and school. Gerald did not make it easy for the researcher to obtain documents. The researcher had to pursue him. By June, 1989 the researcher was exasperated by the pursuit. Gerald promised in several conversations to drop off the journal and notebooks at the Teamsters office. In June 1989 Gerald

took the GED exam at a school two blocks from the Teamsters office. He promised again to drop off the documents. He didn't. The researcher continued to pursue Gerald by telephone in what became embarrassing, almost pleading conversations where she continually expressed a need to have the documents.

In July of 1989 the researcher called Gerald from her vacation home in Rhode Island. They agreed to meet at the Red Lobster restaurant on Saturday, July 14th. On Saturday morning, before leaving Rhode Island, the researcher confirmed the appointment. Gerald was not at the restaurant when she arrived. In despair, Gerald was called at home. He said that he had been at the restaurant but was sent home. He said he had the materials. The researcher asked if she could come to his home. He agreed, gave directions, and after another 40 minutes driving around the Bronx, the researcher located Gerald's home. Finally, he handed the researcher his journal entries (not his journal) and notebook work (not his notebook). Gerald doled out his documents as he had doled out his time.

Personal Records

Personal records collected included business records kept by Jackie for her hairdressing business and a resume Gerald is sending out to obtain employment. As with the

documents, Jackie gave the researcher her records. However, this was the first and only time Jackie requested that the researcher return the materials immediately. These were customer records which Jackie did not wish to lose. The researcher xeroxed the records and mailed them back the next day. Gerald gave the researcher his resume immediately. This was the only document given to the researcher that was given without incident. In retrospect, the researcher notes that Gerald gave her his resume with assurance and without incident, in that he produced it without reminders. The resume was written by his companion and he felt confident that the content and structure were perfect. He also hoped that the researcher would help him find a job. Although inquiries were made, the researcher was unable to help Gerald.

Informal and Formal Interviews

The researcher conducted informal interviews with the participants, the teachers, and the administrative staff at IS 70. During informal interviews, field notes were taken and memos were written afterwards. One formal initial interview was conducted with each participant for the purpose of establishing background information, purpose for attending school, and participants' perceptions of themselves as learners and students. Both formal

interviews were audio-taped and the tapes were transcribed totally.

The Research Setting

This study was conducted at several sites including a New York City public school, IS 70, a site utilized by the Consortium for Worker Education to house adult education classes; the Red Lobster Restaurant in Yonkers, New York; P.S. 2 on Ditmars Boulevard in Jackson Heights, New York; JHS 204 in Long Island City, New York; and the Queensbridge Housing Projects in Long Island City, New York.

The Consortium For Worker Education

The Consortium for Worker Education in New York City is a consortium of eighteen labor unions formed in 1985, to provide literacy programs to union members and immediate family. The ultimate goal of the program is to improve the quality of life for the worker through empowerment. Empowerment is described as reading, writing, listening, speaking, observing, and thinking for one's self, and having opportunities to compare one's understandings and perceptions with others on an equal basis. Empowerment according to the Consortium's philosophy statement means making connections--between individuals and communities, the present and the past, the tangible and the abstract.

Empowerment means providing opportunities for understanding ourselves, the world in which we live, and connections between us and the world. In short, empowerment for the worker means providing opportunities for the affirmation and analysis of personal experiences between people (Consortium For Worker Education, 1986).

The Consortium serves over 5,000 students in 35 sites located in four boroughs. There are no classes at present on Staten Island. Classes are conducted in public schools, colleges, factories, union halls, and community based organizations. Programs include: General literacy classes which include classes in English as a Second Language, High School Equivalency classes, and Adult Basic Education (ABE) classes. ABE classes are described as adult basic education classes including reading, writing, and mathematics for students who speak English and have scores below 8.0 on the Test of Adult Basic Education. Students in the High School Equivalency classes have scored above 8.0 on the Test of Adult Basic Education.

These classes are funded by the New York City Board of Education and are bound by its rules and regulations. Students in ABE and High School Equivalency classes are tested on the TABE and students in the English as a second language classes are tested on the JOHN which is a test of

proficiency in English. Teachers in these classes are certified by the New York City Board of Education.

The Consortium also offers classes which are described as literacy for the workplace. These classes offer instruction in literacy for purposes specifically centered around the workplace. For example, students wishing to become exterminators would attend a class where the exterminator manual was used as a means of teaching both the technical component and the literacy component. Garment workers wishing to learn both pattern making and English skills would also be included in such programs. These classes are funded through the State of New York

Teacher backgrounds vary. In some cases there are two teachers per class--one to teach the technical area and one to teach the literacy area. In this case, the two teachers work as a team. In other classes there is one teacher who teaches both the technical and the literacy aspect. In other cases, literacy is taught separately from the technical aspect, with no collaboration between the teachers. In all cases the teachers are certified in their area of expertise. Students in most of these classes are pre-tested on the TABE and/or JOHN tests.

Students enroll in the program on a voluntary basis. Classes are advertised in the union newspapers, at membership meetings, through union representatives and are

posted at all workplace sites. The majority of students in the Consortium For Worker Education are minorities:

- 35% are Black
- 10% are Asian
- 45% are Hispanic
- 4% are White
- 6% - Other

Sixty percent of the students are female and 40% are male. All students are over the age of 18. Both participants in the study are associated with Teamsters Local 237 and are enrolled in adult education classes at IS 70.

IS 70, Manhattan

Both participants in this study attended adult education classes housed at IS 70, a junior high school building located at 333 West 17th Street in Manhattan. The school is part of New York City's Community School District 2 and during the day houses three alternative junior high school programs. Day school students are in grades 7 through 9. Teamsters, Local 237 rents space in the building four nights per week to house Consortium classes which include classes from ACTWU, Local 1199, computer classes, and Teamster Local 237 classes.

Although the community superintendent believes that all schools in District 2 are available to the community, the day staff at IS 70 does not share his feelings. Day staffers resent having their classrooms used at night by adult students because the adults move furniture, drink coffee, eat in the classrooms and use blackboard space. The adults have also been accused of stealing materials, books, and valuable items. There is an armed truce between the day school staff and the evening school staff and students. As a result of the many complaints by day staffers, rules and regulations are imposed in the evening. Evening staff would like instruction to take place in a relaxed atmosphere where food, coffee and conversation are encouraged. This is hard to do if they are wary and are bound by rules and regulations which prohibit this. As a result, some teachers leave chairs up on desks, do not move furniture and have to remind adults to clean up after themselves. All students and staff refer to the program as the IS 70 program. It is not described as the adult education program at IS 70, but rather the IS 70 program. The school name is the descriptor for the program the adults attend. In many ways these adults are returning to the physical setting including the rules and regulations of their junior high school teen years. Memories of the teen

years are recreated each evening as the adults return to school.

Red Lobster Restaurant

The Red Lobster Restaurant is part of a well-known national chain famous for fish dishes. Research was conducted at the restaurant located in Yonkers, New York, in August of 1988. Gerald M., one of the participants in the study, works as a waiter, bartender, and kitchen helper at the restaurant.

The researcher made an appointment with Gerald M. as a customer in the restaurant which was to allow observation of Gerald on the job. Both Gerald M. and management were uncomfortable with the idea of the researcher following Gerald around the restaurant and observing him at work.

The restaurant is large, has an extensive menu, and was very crowded on a hot Friday night in August. A host greeted customers and added names to a wait list. Customers stood in the front hall or sat in the bar until names were announced over a speaker by the host. The bar, which serves many exotic drinks, was very crowded with celebrants drinking tropical mixes as well as soft drinks and beer. In a memo, the researcher notes, "What am I doing here with a tape recorder in my pocket and a notebook in my lap, sitting at a bar?" (field notes, August 88).

Gerald was waiting on tables and the researcher wanted to sit at his table. Red Lobster does not take reservations. You are seated as tables become available. This was a logistical problem for the researcher. In a memo, the researcher notes that when she approached the maitre d', to ask to be seated at Gerald's table, there was a strange moment of silence--after all, this wasn't a restaurant such as "21" and this must have seemed like an off-the-wall request (field notes, August 1988). The staff was very indulgent and after a 45-minute wait, the researcher was seated at Gerald's table where she sat with her recorder on, and a notebook in her lap (field notes, August 1988).

Gerald M. describes Red Lobster as a fast food place (interview, May 1989). It is a very popular restaurant which depends on fast, courteous service from the staff. The kitchen check which every customer gets states "smile and be friendly, you are the seafood expert. Suggest your favorite and check back often" (documents, August, 1988). Gerald states that on Mother's Day and other holidays people wait up to 3 1/2 hours for tables (interview, October, 1988). The service is fast and the turnover is rapid.

Dorothy H., the staff administrator for the Local 237 education program, has seen Gerald work at the restaurant.

She notes (interview, May, 1989), "when you see Gerald work in this restaurant you know how sharp he has to be."

P.S. 2

Jackie D. works as a district guard at P.S. 2, an elementary school in Jackson Heights, Queens. The researcher called the principal, Edward G., and asked for permission to spend time with Jackie in June of 1988. He was very accommodating and agreed to the visit, but felt obligated to tell the researcher he didn't think she'd see much (telephone conversation, June, 1988).

P.S. 2, located in Community School District 30 in Queens, serves a largely Greek population. Research was conducted at P.S. 2 during June of 1988. Jackie and the researcher spent two hours at the desk at the main entrance where Jackie is posted every day between 9 and 1.

JHS 204

JHS 204 is located in Long Island City within walking distance of Jackie D's home. Jackie worked as a district guard at the school during the summer of 1988. The school housed a summer program and Jackie worked an extended day from 9 to 3 in July and August. The site was visited in August 1988. The school was hot and empty when the

researcher arrived. Jackie was in the office answering phones during the visit which lasted one hour.

Queensbridge Housing

Jackie D. and her family live on the sixth floor of a publicly financed housing project in a two-bedroom apartment in Long Island City. The researcher visited in August 1988 on a day when the temperature was well into the 90s. As the researcher entered the building she noted the mixed smells caused by the heat and wondered once again what she was doing visiting on the hottest day of summer an un-airconditioned building with an elevator that only stops on odd-numbered floors, which meant walking a flight of stairs to the sixth floor, armed with a notebook and tape recorder (field notes, August, 1988). Jackie gave the researcher the best seat in the house, in front of the fan. The apartment was dark and extremely crowded. The living room, dining room, and kitchen area were filled with plants, stereo, and exercise equipment, a bicycle, clothing rack, and the equipment used by Jackie for her hairdressing business. The room was carpeted and furniture included a couch, television, coffee table, dining room table, and chairs, as well as shelves filled with books.

The back of the apartment was closed off by a curtain and the researcher did not go beyond the curtained area.

The researcher stayed two hours in the front of the apartment as Jackie, Tisha (the daughter), and Sean (the son) went about the business of preparing dinner, straightening the apartment and sharing events of the day.

Participants

This section describes the process of participant selection and the participants in the study, Jackie D. and Gerald M.

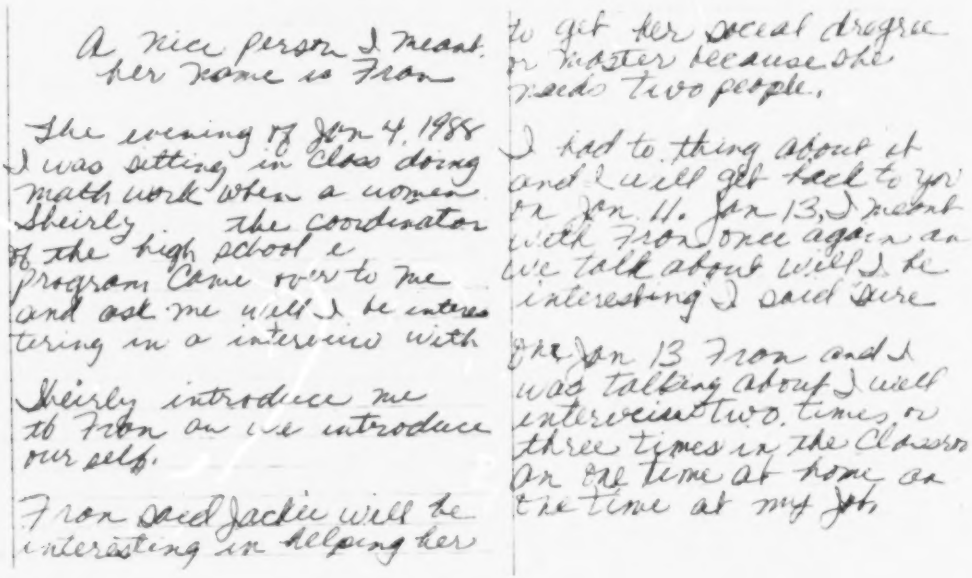
Selection of Participants

The researcher selected two volunteers from among the population served by the Consortium for Worker Education, where she is known to all staff and the majority of students as the program coordinator. The researcher asked the directors and staff developers at Teamsters Local 237 and 1199 if they could help identify students within their programs who would agree to participate in a research study. The researcher asked for volunteers who fit the following criteria: (a) had been tested on the Test of Adult Basic Education and scored 5.0 or less; (b) were employed; (c) were enrolled in education classes; (d) were native speakers of English; and (e) were willing to meet with a researcher both in class and out of class, which would include visits to the workplace and the home.

Jackie D. was identified by the staff at IS 70. In January 1988, Jackie was asked by Dorothy H. and Shirley E., IS 70 staffers, if she would like to participate in a research study. Jackie said she would like more information, and agreed to meet the researcher. Jackie and the researcher met for the first time in January and the research project was discussed at length. Jackie said she would like to think it over. On January 13th, Jackie agreed to be a participant. She describes the decision in a Journal entry dated February 21, 1988.

Figure 3.1

Jackie's Journal Entry--Fran



A nice person I mean her name is Fran

The evening of Jan 4, 1988 I was setting in Class doing math work when a women Sheirly the coordinator of the high school e program Came over to me and ask me will I be interes tering in a interview with

Sheirly introduce me to Fran an we introduce our self.

Fran said Jackie will be interesting in helping her to get her social dregree or master because she needs two people.

I had to thing about it and I will get back to yo on Jan 11. Jan 13, I meet with Fran once again an we talk about will I be interesting I said Sure

The Jan 13 Fran and I was talking about I will interveiw two. times or three times in the Classro On one time at home an the time at my Job.

In April of 1988 the researcher was introduced to Chester C. who was approached by Teamsters Local 237 staff,

and asked if he would like to participate in the study. He, too, wanted to know more about the study and what would be required of him. The researcher asked Jackie to speak with Chester, to describe her involvement in the study, to encourage his participation, and allay any fears he might have. By this time Jackie D. had become possessive of the researcher's attention and the researcher thought it wise to involve Jackie in the process, especially since the researcher would soon be spending time with another participant at the same site.

Chester met with the researcher in April of 1988. He was a very quiet, soft-spoken, shy man. He was the exact opposite of Jackie who is extremely outgoing, attractive, friendly, and loud. Chester seemed interested in the study but was absolutely adamant that the researcher not visit him at work or home. He was a caretaker with New York City housing and said there really wasn't much to see on the job. He didn't do much--just clean. He had aspirations to become a heat plant technician. Going home with him was out of the question. I asked him to think about participating and what the requirements of the study would be. He declined a week later, saying he really didn't think that the researcher could come to his job because the bosses would get angry. They would assume the researcher

was there to check up on them and he didn't want to be involved in incurring anger.

Jackie D. was told that Chester wouldn't participate and why. She said she didn't think he'd be good anyway--"he's so quiet" (field notes, 4-88). She also said that some people might be embarrassed about where they live or what they do. The researcher and the staff at IS 70 agreed that Jackie probably scared him off (field notes, 4-88). Jackie also liked the idea of the researcher visiting her at I.S. 70 and didn't want to share the stage.

Another candidate was approached in April 1988 by the staff of 1199. Monica worked as a cleaning person in a hospital represented by 1199. She wanted to become an aide in the hospital. Monica enrolled in a class at 1199 with a teacher who is very protective of her students. Before meeting with Monica, the researcher was interviewed by the teacher who wanted to know details of the project--in particular, if Monica's privacy and security in the classroom would be at risk in any way. The teacher then called Monica at home to tell her about the study and Monica agreed to meet with the researcher. Monica was also shy and reticent and was particularly unwilling to have the researcher come to her job where there was "nothing to see" (field notes, 4-88), and she didn't think the supervisor

would be happy to have the researcher around. She too declined to participate in the study.

In May, 1988, just as the researcher was despairing because school was almost over and she'd have to wait until the following October when school started to find another participant, Gerald M. returned to class at IS 70. He had been out on jury duty and had an erratic attendance pattern. Dorothy H. and Shirley E. thought he would be a perfect participant and described him as being like Jackie D., in that he was outgoing, friendly and sharp. They approached him and in May, 1988 Gerald and the researcher met. The researcher's first impression of Gerald was one of a handsome, well-dressed, friendly, outgoing man. Most of the Teamsters come to IS 70 wearing a uniform and so Gerald, as a non-union member, stood out in the crowd. Gerald was told about the study and agreed to participate immediately. He didn't need to think it over--his reaction was "sure, why not." The initial meeting with Gerald took place in May, 1988.

Participant Jackie D.

Jackie D. is a black female aged 34, born in the United States. She is a member of Teamster Local 237. The researcher formed an immediate friendship with Jackie D., who was quick to develop pride in participation in the

study, and a sense of ownership over the researcher and the investigation. Jackie D. and the researcher spent many hours together in conversation over issues of concern to each of them as women--which included diets, fashion, and relationships with men. Conversation also included issues related to school, goals, learning, world issues, problems with family, friendships, children, and survival. Jackie D. and the researcher shared many hours of discourse. Mischler (1986) argues that the essence of the research interview is a conversation between two people speaking to one another. Mischler (1986) states that an interview is a form of discourse and that "the record of an interview that we researchers make and then use in our work of analysis and interpretation is a representation of that talk" (p. vii).

Jackie D. was a reliable participant in that she kept all appointments with the researcher or called if there was a problem. She willingly gave documents to the researcher, kept a journal, and invited the researcher to visit work and home. A fast friendship formed between Jackie and the researcher. When problems arose in Jackie's marriage and with her son Sean, who was having trouble in school and was acting out as a result of the marriage break-up, Jackie approached the researcher to discuss the issues and ask for

help. The researcher was able to obtain counseling for the family with the help of the union.

When Jackie dropped out of class at IS 70 in September, 1989, she continued to meet with the researcher to study for the GED exam. The researcher became a valued resource for Jackie.

Participant Gerald M.

Although initially enthusiastic about the study, Gerald M. proved to be a difficult participant in that he missed appointments in October, November, and December. Each time the researcher appeared at the appointed time and waited an hour for Gerald. He never called to cancel. All appointments were confirmed on the day of the meeting. On November 29th, the researcher noted in exasperation

> I waited for Gerald again today to no avail. This is the 5th or 6th time he has not shown up to class. For two weeks he was sick and then he reported overtime and car trouble. He's been in class only 3 or 4 times since September. What does this say? He isn't interested. Other areas of his life take precedence. This class is not meeting his needs (field notes, 11-29).

After each missed appointment, the researcher and Gerald would speak by phone. He was always apologetic and confident that he would return to school and would meet again with the researcher. By January, 1989 the researcher started to panic. Gerald had not returned to school and most conversations had been on the phone since December.

The researcher was deeply invested in the study and was worried that Gerald was feeling annoyed or pestered by the whole project. The researcher felt somewhat embarrassed by having to constantly pursue him but at the same time knew she needed his input. In January, 1989, not knowing what other tactic to take, the researcher wrote to Gerald (see appendix A) offering to meet with him anywhere at his convenience, and followed up with a phone call. Gerald was as pleasant as ever, said he didn't mind participating in the study, would return to school, was keeping his journal and was studying for the GED at home with his girlfriend. Gerald associated the research project with school and with the GED. His preference was to have the researcher meet with him at school.

Gerald and the researcher never became friends. The researcher notes on December 19th that "there is a line you don't cross [re Gerald] the difference between a man and a woman subject. Jackie and I talk girl talk" (field notes, December, 1988). Gerald responded to the researcher's questions. For the most part during interviews, the researcher elicited information from Gerald. The researcher and Gerald engaged in what Mischler (1986) refers to as discourse on some topics which included gambling, traveling, and divorce. The bonding between subject and researcher which took place between Jackie and

the researcher did not occur with Gerald and the researcher.

Gerald, a black male from the West Indies, exhibited some level of discomfort the first time he was alone with the researcher for an interview in a room at IS 70. It was the discomfort that exists between the sexes and the races. The relationship was not strained but a tension existed. Although the tension eased during the study, it never entirely abated. It was a relationship in which Gerald understood that the researcher needed his input and he was not generous with his time. On reflection, the researcher notes that she was always afraid that Gerald would disappear, because Gerald's pattern from the beginning was inconsistent. He would agree to meet and then wouldn't show up. Some times he would call the researcher and other times he would not call. This created a tension which the researcher did not fully understand until data analysis began. Gerald seemed to lose interest in anything which did not help him reach a goal. This included both school and the researcher. School wasn't helping him obtain a GED and the researcher didn't obtain a new job for him, or become a resource to goal-reaching activities. On reflection, the researcher believes that Gerald agreed to participate in the study because he felt that somehow the participation would be helpful to him. The researcher,

however, did not understand this until she began to analyze the data and reflect on the participants in depth.

Data Analysis Procedures

This section describes the procedures utilized in analyzing and validating the data in this study. The data collected in this study were subjected to intensive analysis. Bogdan and Biklen (1982) point out that all case studies involve a combination of data collection and analysis which occur in a "pulsating fashion--first the interview, then the analysis and the theory development" (p. 68).

The process of data collection and analysis used at the outset of this study followed the patterns of comparison and recursiveness set forth by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Brause (in press), Merriam (1988), and Goetz and LeCompte (1984). This process involves the concurrent collection and analysis of data. Glaser (1978) describes this method of data collection and analysis as one where the researcher looks for key issues, recurrent events or activities which will become categories of focus. Merriam (1988) states that in qualitative research such as case study analysis, data collection and analysis is a simultaneous process. According to Merriam (1988) the

process of data collection and analysis in a case study is "recursive and dynamic" (p. 123).

Data collection and analysis continued between October, 1987 and March, 1989 when the formal data collection phase of the study ended and an intensive analysis of the data began. The researcher, however, maintained a relationship with Jackie D. and Gerald M. after March of 1989 and data collection continued on an informal basis. This was helpful to the researcher as the categories began to emerge, and began to appear regular and saturated.

The reliability of an observational case study is dependent on the ability of the reseacher to clearly and completely describe the data analysis procedures. According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), "the researcher must clearly identify and fully discuss data analysis procedures and provide retrospective accounts of how data were examined and synthesized" (p. 217). A complete description of the data analysis procedures follows.

The process of intensive analysis began with a review of the research proposal, which included chapters one through three. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) suggest reviewing the proposal even though the investigation "may have wandered far from the original question" (p. 190). Yin (1984) states the first and more preferred strategy during

the intensive data analysis phase is "to follow the theoretical propositions that led to the case study" (p. 100). The researcher started the intensive analysis phase by re-reading the dissertation proposal (Boren, 1988). The immediate reaction of the researcher was panic, because preliminary analysis seemed to have wandered a great deal from the initial proposal questions. Critical to the process of data analysis at this stage is the role of the mentor who, during these first steps, helps to alleviate panic and provide needed support. During the re-reading phase, the researcher made notes. The notes included mention of additional appropriate readings, and more questions added to the initial questions. New questions that were beginning to occur to the researcher were written out. Additional questions included an in-depth look at the participants' activities--What are they experiencing in school? At home? At work? Why are they in school? How is school like work and home? How is it different? What do participants say? What behaviors are noted? Are there inconsistencies between word and action? After a thorough review of the proposal, where these questions were raised, the researcher turned to the data to begin the organization of the evidence or case record. Patton (1980) calls this phase organizing the case record which "pulls together the voluminous data into a primary resource package" (p. 313).

Yin (1984) refers to the organization of evidence as the case study data base and states that every report should contain enough data so that the reader can draw independent conclusions. The organization of the case record took place in four stages. Stage one involved the transcription of the audio-tapes, and reading through field notes, memos and documents to develop a sense of the materials, and to begin to develop categories or units.

Everything was placed in one huge pile. The researcher then re-read the data and began to color-code three distinct areas--home, school, work--which were the three physical places where data had been collected. Six separate packages of data were developed. These packages were not yet discrete as data from one area overlapped into another. However, the separation of data into these groupings gave the researcher a sense that the data were somewhat if not completely manageable. Evidence describing Jackie D. and Gerald M. was divided into school, work and home. Questions about each section were written and discussed with the mentor. Who are these participants? Can you describe them? What personal qualities do you see? What are their goals? What is experienced at work? What is happening at school as relates to: goals; achievement; placement; literacy; enrolling; dropping out; activities; relationships? What about home and work? Children?

Relationships? Needs? Abilities? Uses of literacy? Are these participants alike in any way? Are they different? The researcher jotted all these questions down on cards and placed them on the appropriate package where she thought she would find evidence. At this point, the mentor's role was crucial to this researcher. There is a sense that the data are so overwhelming that there is absolutely no way to analyze or make sense of them. It is one of several times during the process when this researcher felt incompetent, unable and perhaps unwilling to go on. The mentor helped this researcher to understand that all things are possible and suggests that the next stage is to write and try to answer some or all of the questions. Thus follows the next step in organizing the evidence. The researcher wrote several probes which led to descriptions of the participants as they functioned within the school setting and at work and home.

The first written probe was an attempt to answer some of the questions, without citing the evidence. This was an attempt to get thoughts down on paper. The researcher had spent many months with the participants, had listened to the tapes, and had read through the evidence numerous times. It was time to put thoughts on paper.

The initial probe was divided into two categories or parts. Category one was entitled "School: The Quest for

Certification." From the beginning, the issue of certification as translated into the High School Equivalency diploma permeated the data and became the core of the analysis. Both participants had enrolled in school with the GED as a goal. Both participants needed the GED for job advancement. Jackie seemed to want the GED as a measure of her own self-worth. Both participants dropped out before obtaining the GED but continued to pursue the goal in other ways. It was the GED that brought the researcher and participants together. The first probe described student need as (a) certification, (b) verification, and (c) socialization. It further described school literacy under the categories of literacy in class/ the range of activities: (a) teacher assumptions/ gatekeeping vs cheerleading; (b) the role of the GED in school; and (c) student expectations. Category two of the first probe was entitled "Literacy Beyond School: On the Job and Obtaining the GED Beyond School." From the outset the researcher separated school from work and home, as the two appeared to be mutually exclusive. A descriptive picture was beginning to emerge.

The second probe examined school and home and work again. The original categories of socialization, verification, and certification remained, and integration was added. The researcher was looking to see where, if at

all, school, home and work crossed paths. The researcher wrote in outline form under headings, citing possible evidence. New categories developed under the home and work section, which were used to describe the participants. These included independence, self-direction, literacy, illiteracy, determination, will-power, risk-taking, empowerment. These categories arose from a continual questioning of the data. re-reading, discussion, listening to the tapes, and a continued search for key issues and recurring patterns.

A third probe looked at factors which the researcher felt constituted a supportive environment at home and at school. Again the researcher was looking for areas in which school and home crossed. This probe was to help the researcher to look at factors either at home or at school which might enable the participant to obtain a GED. This led to the formulation of a chart which described routes to obtaining the GED either in school or out of school. The researcher was searching for factors that might enable the participants to obtain a GED. These factors included multi-uses of literacy, risk-taking, confidence, determination, independence, motivation, success, peer support, positive thinking, need to prove oneself. The researcher questioned where, if at all, these factors were present. By now the researcher had a developing picture of

who these students were, what they wanted, and what school and home were about.

The probes led to more questions about school and participant purpose for attending and dropping out, and ultimately led to the tentative generation of factors described in Chapter 4. These probes were the beginning process in making sense of the data. Again there came a feeling of confusion. There were pieces of many ideas which did not form a complete picture. The researcher felt the frustration of having to put together a great jig-saw puzzle. The parts were all there but the fit wasn't within reach. Again the mentor moved the researcher to the next level with probing questions. Meetings with the mentor were disturbing in the sense that there were many questions and few immediate answers. Looking back, the researcher sees these as times of rumination and germination on a conscious and unconscious level. The researcher thinks that nothing is happening with the study because no writing is taking place and there is a physical distancing from the data. It seems that nothing will ever come of the material. This feeling can go on for weeks. Suddenly a probing question or a comment makes sense and the next step in the process of organizing the data begins. For this researcher, it was the generation of the factors, and accompanying evidence gleaned from the multiple sources.

According to Merriam (1988), "developing categories, typologies or themes involves looking for recurring regularities in the data" (p. 138). Goetz and LeCompte (1984) state that "devising categories is largely an intuitive process but it is also systematic and informed by the study's purpose, the investigator's orientation and knowledge and the constructs made explicit by the participants of the study" (p. 191).

The next step was to take the probes and go back to the evidence. Prove it. Was there enough evidence to support the theory beginning to formulate through the probes? The researcher began by color-coding, underlining, and labeling the case record, looking for proof. A 50-page manuscript was written, addressing the quest for certification and describing the participants in seven categories, where there seemed to be enough evidence. Each category was described and three sources of evidence were provided under each category, triangulating the data. The categories included: (a) multiple uses of literacy; (b) risk-taking; (c) success; (d) social networks; (e) ambitions and determination; (f) self-directed and independent; and (g) economic need. The factors were eventually refined and combined into the five presented in the findings section of this study. Risk-taking was discarded as a category because there was no evidence to

support the notion. This was more researcher bias than fact. Tentative hypotheses were generated by the researcher as the factors emerged. This manuscript reduced the data and gave the researcher a sense that the study could be managed. The fourth step in the process of organizing the data was to present the evidence in a descriptive narrative. The case record, refined in the 50-page manuscript, was re-presented in narrative form and integrated into thick, rich descriptions of the participants, the school, home, and work experience. This gave the researcher an opportunity to look at the various segments of the participants' lives side by side in narrative form. Hypotheses about school, work and home were generated and refined.

The narrative manuscript was subjected to numerous revisions, after discussions with the mentor and colleagues. An emphasis was placed on the testing of adults and sections on the Test of Adult Basic Education and the High School Equivalency were added. An analysis of the evidence was presented and revised. Hypotheses were combined, changed and refined. The next step was to begin to develop theory. The process of theory building, description and hypothesis generation was ongoing throughout the data analysis process. However, the researcher was better able to focus on the theory

development once the data were organized and presented in narrative form.

Goetz and LeCompte (1984) describe theorizing as "the cognitive process of discovering or manipulating abstract categories and the relationships among those categories" (p. 167). Merriam (1988) points out that the process is fraught with ambiguity (p. 141). According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), going beyond the data is a difficult task for most researchers because they are too close to the data, unable to articulate how the study is significant and unable to shift into a speculative mode of thinking. The researcher notes in a memo of June, 1989:

> I keep asking myself how I can be confused by my own material. After all--I wrote this--why can't I explain it in a coherent sentence or two? I keep trying to tell myself the story of my own dissertation.

It is a trying time, a time when the researcher once again feels inadequate and not worthy of engaging in a study which will ultimately lead to the awarding of a PhD degree. Again, the mentor ultimately provides the needed support. Support also comes from other doctoral candidates and recent graduates who can commiserate, listen, laugh, and cry with the researcher, but it is the role of the mentor that is invaluable in providing focus, listening to speculations, and ultimately becoming the Henry Higgins who says to Eliza Doolittle, "By George, you've got it!"

The final stage of the data analysis process was the development of a grounded theory. Merriam (1988) describes the three elements of grounded theory as category construction, property identification, and hypothesis generation. Merriam (1988) describes properties as concepts which describe a category and hypothesis as the "suggested links between categories and properties" (p. 142). The data analysis led to the presentation of the findings in Chapter 4.

Validation Procedures

Validity is concerned with the accuracy of scientific findings. According to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), establishing validity requires

> the ability to determine the extent to which conclusions effectively represent empirical reality and assessing whether constructs devised by researchers represent or measure the categories of human experience that occur. (p. 210)

Validity may be the major strength of an observational case study because of the data analysis and collection techniques used. Participation observation, the key source of data in this study, was conducted in the natural settings which reflect the life experiences of the participants in a way that is more accurate than in a contrived or laboratory setting.

Yin (1984) states that the "use of multiple sources of evidence in case studies allows an investigator to address a broader range of historical, attitudinal and observational issues" (p. 91). Multiple sources provided the advantage of allowing the researcher to see converging lines of inquiry through the process of triangulation.

> Triangulation prevents the investigator from accepting too readily the validity of initial impressions. It enhances the scope, density and clarity of constructs developed during the course of the investigation. (Goetz & LeCompte, 1984, p. 11)

In designing case studies, internal and external validity are relevant in judging the quality of the design. Construct validity as defined by Goetz and LeCompte is the "extent to which abstract terms, generalizations, or meanings are shared across times, settings and populations" (p. 231). Yin (1984) notes that there are three tactics available in case studies to increase construct validity. He mentions the use of multiple sources of evidence which encourage convergent lines of inquiry--or triangulation. The researcher used these multiple sources in the collection of data. A second tactic proposed by Yin (1984) to increase construct validity is establishing a chain of evidence or "explicit links between the questions asked, the data collected and the conclusions drawn" (p. 78). The researcher carefully recreated these linkages so that, as Goetz and LeCompte (1984) note, a reader can examine the

inferences, the comparisons, generalizations and/or predictions which contributed to the study. Yin's (1984) third suggested tactic for increasing the construct validity of a study is "to have the draft case study report reviewed by key informants" (p. 38).

The researcher asked Shirley E. and Dorothy H., administrative staff at IS 70, to read a draft of Chapter 4. Both women were instrumental in the selection of participants, have had independent conversations with participants and are responsible for the Teamster education program housed at IS 70. Both women have independently observed the classes that Gerald M. and Jackie D. attended. Dorothy H. has been a patron at the Red Lobster restaurant when Gerald was working. Many long discussions took place between the researcher and the two women regarding the study and the analysis. Shirley was able to draw inferences from the study description in Chapter 4 regarding Jackie's and Gerald's abilities and the system's inability to build on their knowledge. Based on her reading of Chapter 4 and further discussions with the researcher, she has made some changes in the Teamster education program. Dorothy stated the descriptions were accurate and clear. She too is involved in creating changes at the program.

The researcher also discussed the study with both participants. Neither participant was given a draft of the study to read. Jackie D. commented in an interview in June, 1989 after discussing the study with the researcher:

> In a certain way they [the school] were stopping me from getting what I want. . . . It [school] was on their [the teachers'] terms. You felt they were slowing up the program to keep the program going. I knew school wasn't for me because they didn't get to the point. . . . School made you feel less self esteem. I was going to keep on until I got what I wanted. (Jackie, interview, June, 1989)

Gerald M. also discussed the study with the researcher on the day he took the GED exam. At this point Gerald had absented himself from class for six months. Gerald felt that the study was "right" and that "you really don't need school if you can study on your own" (interview, 6-89)

Internal validity, according to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), refers to the extent "to which scientific observations and measurements are authentic representations of some reality." The issue is essentially whether or not researchers measure what they think they are measuring and observing or, as Merriam (1988) states, how one's findings match reality. Goetz and LeCompte (1984) note threats to internal validity which include history and maturation, observer effects, selection, mortality and spurious conclusions. A research design which anticipates these threats establishes the internal validity of the study.

Merriam (1988) cites six basic strategies which an investigator can use to insure internal validity. Five of these strategies--triangulation, member checks, long term observation, peer examination, and participatory modes of research--were incorporated as an ongoing part of the process of this study.

"External validity deals with the problem of knowing whether a study's findings are generalizable beyond the immediate case study" (Yin, 1984, p. 38). It is, according to Merriam (1988), "concerned with the extent to which the findings of one study can be applied to other situations" (p. 173). Merriam (1988) states that one "selects a case study approach because one wishes to understand the particular in depth, not because one wants to know what is generally true of the many" (p. 173). This study was not intended to be generalizable to the population of students attending literacy classes who are labeled functionally illiterate. Rather, it is, according to Lincoln and Guba (1985), "a rich, thick description so that anyone else interested in transferability has a base of information appropriate to the judgment" (p. 124). A thick description is provided in this document.

The researcher has generated hypotheses and theories which suggest ways to interpret the experiences of students in adult basic education programs. These theories and

hypotheses will require additional testing in the process of building a comprehensive theory of literacy.

Reliability

Reliability refers to the demonstration that "the operations of a study--such as data collection procedures--can be repeated with the same results" (Yin, 1984, p. 36). Bogdan and Biklen (1982) state:

> Qualitative researchers tend to view reliability as a fit between what they record as data and what actually occurs in the setting under study, rather than the literal consistency across different observations. (p. 44)

Yin (1984) notes that by operationalizing as many steps in the research process as possible, the reliability of the study increases.

Researchers, according to Goetz and LeCompte (1984), can enhance the external reliability of the data by providing descriptions of the researcher status position, informant choices, social situation and conditions, analytic constructs, as well as premises and methods of data collection and analysis.

Merriam (1988) suggests that in case study research, the object is to describe and explain rather than to isolate behaviors which can be repeated or replicated. Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Merriam (1988) suggest thinking

about the dependability or consistency of the data analysis. According to Merriam (1988), that is:

> Rather than demanding that outsiders get the same results, one wishes outsiders to concur that, given the data collected, the results make sense--they are consistent and dependable. (p. 172)

Merriam (1988) suggests three techniques for ensuring that an investigator's results are dependable. These include a description of the investigator's position vis-a-vis the theory behind the study, the participants and the social context. Also included are the use of triangulation and the development of an audit trail describing how the data were collected and analyzed. The researcher used all these techniques in establishing the reliability of the study such that, as stated by Goetz and LeCompte (1984), "other researchers can use the original report as an operating manual by which to replicate the study" (p. 216).

The data collected in this study are reliable for the following reasons:

- There appears within the study a rich, thick description of the participants and the selection requirements, processes and procedures.
- A description of the type and amount of data is included in the study.
- The process of data analysis is described in detail, such that subsequent researchers can reconstruct the original analytic strategies.

- Documents are included within the text of the study which illustrate the work of the participants.

Yin (1984) and Merriam (1988) suggest that creating an audit trail with rich, thick descriptions enhance the reliability of the study.

The researcher used the process of triangulation throughout the study, looking for patterns among the data which were consistent and appeared a minimum of three times within the data. The researcher's first draft of Chapter 4 was an attempt to triangulate the data. The researcher had co-workers read the description which appears in Chapter 4 of this document, for feedback. Included within the document is a description of the Consortium for Worker Education. The researcher, as coordinator of the program, helped to draft this description which describes the program philosophy. The work of Goetz and LeCompte (1984), Merriam (1988) and Yin (1984) suggest that using these techniques establishes the reliability of a case study.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS: PART ONE

This observational case study reports the findings from the data collected on two adult education students labeled functionally illiterate, based on a standardized tested reading score of less than 5.0. The analysis is divided into three parts--Chapters four, five, and six.

Chapter 4 contains three sections. Section one is a discussion of the categories which emerged from the analysis of the two adult participants at work, school, and home, and presents a general statement of the findings. Section two describes the program structure of the Adult Education Program at IS 70. Section three describes enrollment policies of the Adult Education Program.

Chapter 5 presents a description and analysis of participant Jackie D. at school, work, and home. Chapter 6 presents a description and analysis of participant Gerald M. at school, work, and home.

General Statement of the Findings

The two adult participants in this study were observed at home, school, and work. Both were (a) enrolled in an adult education program, and (b) tested on the Test of

Adult Basic Education; each scored less than 5.0. Both participants work, and speak English.

Five factors related to these adults are identified and are discussed below: (a) resource networks (defined as individuals or groups of people who serve as resources for participants, offering access to information and literacy events); (b) goal orientation/motivation (defined as the ability to articulate goals and have a future focus); (c) self-direction/independence (defined as engaging in activities where responsibility for planning and carrying out the endeavor is assumed by the individual); (d) uses of literacy (defined as engaging in reading and writing activities for a specific purpose or function that is meaningful to the individual); and (e) success (defined as job-related achievment, having material possessions).

Resource Networks

Both participants are associated with individuals and groups providing access to information and literacy events. These networks are formed at work, through personal relationships, and in the case of Jackie D., through the union.

Goal-orientation/Motivation

Both participants are able to clearly articulate their goals and have a future focus. Both want a high school equivalency diploma. Gerald M. is looking for a more secure job as measured by better benefits and pension, and needs high school certification for this. Jackie D. cannot maintain her present job without the certification. She also views certification as a measure of her abilities and self-worth. Both students are strongly motivated to attain certification.

Self-direction/Independence

Both participants are financially independent, have worked at a variety of jobs and have engaged in activities that would bring greater job security. Both have achieved certification in areas unrelated to certification through adult education classes. Both are responsible for earning a living and supporting families. Both are now seeking high school equivalency certification outside of school.

Uses of Literacy

At home and at work, both participants engage in a variety of meaningful and purposeful literacy activities which include reading and writing for specific purposes. These activities are unlike school literacy activities

which focus on discrete sets of skills designed to raise tested reading levels.

Success

Both participants in this study own many of the material goods society values as measures of success. Both are successful in specific work arenas: Jackie D. is a hairdresser and a school guard; Gerald M. is a restaurant employee who has worked in a variety of restaurant-related jobs.

In general, school was found to be a place where judgments and assumptions were made about the participants in this study. Judgments and assumptions were based on standardized test scores and affect the curriculum, teaching practices, class placement, and labeling of these adults. Access to certification is denied to these participants who assume that schools open doors to goal achievement. School was a place which underestimated and misunderstood the essence of the individuals.

Outside of school, these participants were found to be resourceful, successful, independent, goal-oriented individuals who participate in the larger print society and who seek greater participation through schooling.

The Teamster Education Program

The Teamsters' (Local 237) education program is part of a larger organization known as the Consortium for Worker Education. The consortium is a group of 18 labor unions working together to offer education programs to members and family. Classes are offered in four boroughs at a variety of sites including schools, union halls, factories, churches, and community organizations. In a combined effort funded by both the Board of Education of New York City and the State Education Department, the program serves over 6,000 students in more than three hundred classes. Although the program serves the same pool of students and is operated by one administrator, the two funding sources provide separate programs that differ as to course requirements, schedule flexibility, course content, and staffing policy. The Board of Education program is considered generic in nature, in that the courses do not relate to work-specific content. Courses offered through this program include English As A Second Language, High School Equivalency, and courses in Adult Basic Education.

Courses offered through the State Education Department are workplace-oriented and geared toward helping the worker maintain a job, upgrade on the job, learn a new job-related skill or do a job better. Students in these classes enroll for a variety of purposes which include learning a new job-

related skill, passing a civil service exam, passing a job-related exam, becoming legalized in this country under the amnesty program, and/or becoming a citizen. Classes are offered free of charge and are unlike courses offered in day elementary and secondary schools.

Jackie D. is a member of local 237. When told by her union that she would need a GED to maintain employment, she enrolled in adult classes housed at IS 70 which was the only Teamster education site offering GED classes at the time. The union was aware that Jackie's current job as a school guard and any future employment in the field would require a high school diploma or equivalency. Jackie was contacted through the mail by the union and informed about the IS 70 program. She states that she was going to get her diploma anyway, but in an interview (2-89), said, "I wanted it personally but I didn't give myself courage until Iliary [her union shop steward]." It was the union's requirement, their letter, and the offering of classes which precipitated Jackie's enrollment in the Teamster education program.

Upon arrival at IS 70 in October, 1987, Jackie was registered and interviewed to determine her purpose for enrolling. Jackie told the staff that she was interested in obtaining the GED and it was determined that she would be enrolled in Board of Education classes which offered

pre-GED and GED classes, not State Education classes, which were job-specific. At the time, all the state education classes were filled with students who were interested in passing civil service exams in two specific areas--extermination and heat plant.

Gerald M. is not a member, or a relative of a member of Teamsters Local 237. Technically the program is only open to union members and family. Gerald is a friend of a Teamster member. The friend received notification of the classes at IS 70 and passed the information on to Gerald. The rules were ignored in Gerald's case, and he was accepted into the program.

Gerald M. enrolled in the Teamsters Local 237 education program housed at IS 70 in February, 1988. He was registered and interviewed and at the time told the staff that he was in school because he wanted to obtain his high school equivalency degree. He told the researcher in an interview (1-89) that he felt that by going to class at IS 70, "I'm helping myself to further my education because I want my GED." It was decided that Gerald would be placed in a class offered through the Board of Education rather than a class offered through workplace education where courses focus on specific job content.

Policies for Enrollment

Board of Education policy requires that all students be pre-tested on the Test of Adult Basic Education, before being placed in a class. The policy states that students are not to be placed in a high school equivalency class unless they score a minimum total score of 8.0 on the TABE. The Board of Education monitors its High School Equivalency classes by checking to see that only students with an 8th grade score or above are registered in classes designated GED. It is against Board policy to place anyone with a score below 8.0 in a GED class. Success rate is closely scrutinized by Board personnel and statistics are published by the Board each year, evaluating the program's success based on the number of students enrolled in GED class who pass the GED. Success rate is also correlated to teacher. Good teachers are considered those with high pass rates. The Teamster program is very careful about the placement of students into these classes. Students scoring below an 8.0 are placed in Basic Education or pre-GED classes. The aim of these classes is to raise the tested reading levels of students to an 8th grade score so that they can then enter a high school equivalency preparation class.

In October of 1987, Jackie D.'s initial total test score was 4.2. She was placed in a pre-GED/Basic Education class for level 2 readers which met two nights per week for

a total of 6 hours. The Board of Education divides Basic Education into four levels. Level 1 is for readers between 0 and 3rd grade. Level 2 is for those between 3rd to 5th grades. Level 3 is for those between 5th to 7th grades. Level 4 is for those above 7 but who are perceived, because of the score, to need additional skill work before entering GED classes. The area between Level 4 and GED is very "gray" and placement depends on whether the reading comprehension score of the TABE is 8.0 or higher.

Two re-testing periods were scheduled to look at Jackie's reading scores, to determine progress with the possibility of moving to the next level. One session was scheduled for January 1988 and one for May/June 1988. In January Jackie's total score was 4.3, and in June, 6.1. Jackie did not return to school for the 88/89 school year.

Gerald was first tested on the Test of Adult Basic Education (TABE) in February 1988. His initial total grade equivalent score was 4.5. He was placed in a Board of Education class designated Basic Education level 1. Although his score would indicate placement in a level 2 class, there were fewer students in the level 1 class. The staff felt he would get more attention from the teacher in the level 1 section. Also, he entered the class in mid-cycle as opposed to most of the other students who had entered in September. It was felt that the level 2 class

might be too advanced for him. Gerald remained in class between February and June, with a sporadic attendance pattern. He attended only 12 sessions.

In October of 1988 Gerald returned to IS 70. He was tested again on 10-17-88 and scored a total of 4.4. This time he was placed in a Basic Education level 2 class. By January 1989 Gerald had dropped out of school.

The reading portion of the Test of Adult Basic Education is divided into two separate sections. There is a vocabulary section and a reading comprehension section. Each section yields a separate raw score which is translated into a grade level equivalent. Each student has three scores--a vocabulary score, a comprehension score and an overall total score which is calculated by adding together the two raw scores. All raw scores are converted into grade equivalents by following the chart in the teacher's direction booklet. All total student scores are recorded in roll books and onto computer data collection forms as grade equivalents. It is the program's decision as to whether vocabulary and comprehension scores are recorded. Class placement is determined by the total grade score except in the case of a level 4 possible GED student where placement may be determined by the comprehension score alone. This is an inexact science which rests upon programmatic whim. At times, as in the case of Gerald M.,

placement is determined by the availability of a class. For example, if only two students test at a level 2 and 14 test at a level 3, all students would be combined into a level 3 class. There is a tacit understanding, however, that only scores 8.0 and above enter GED programs.

Table 2

Total TABE Scores Equated to ABE/GED Levels

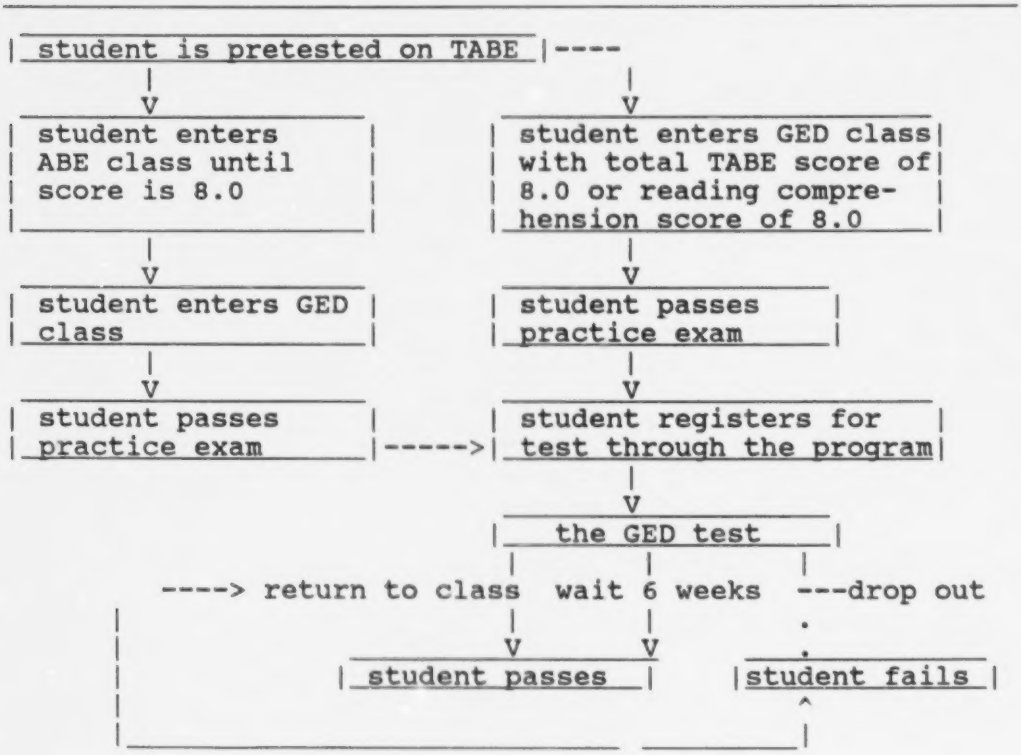
Basic Education				High School Prep
Basic Ed 1 TABE Score	Basic Ed 2 TABE Score	Basic Ed 3 TABE Score	Basic Ed 4 7.0-8.9	GED Prep 9+
0-2.9	3.0-4.9	5.0-6.9	<-----OVERLAP------> Comprehension score of 8.0 alone determines entry	

The High School Equivalency Examination

There are two methods of applying for the high school equivalency examination. Table 3 identifies the formal method in use by the New York City Board of Education.

Table 3

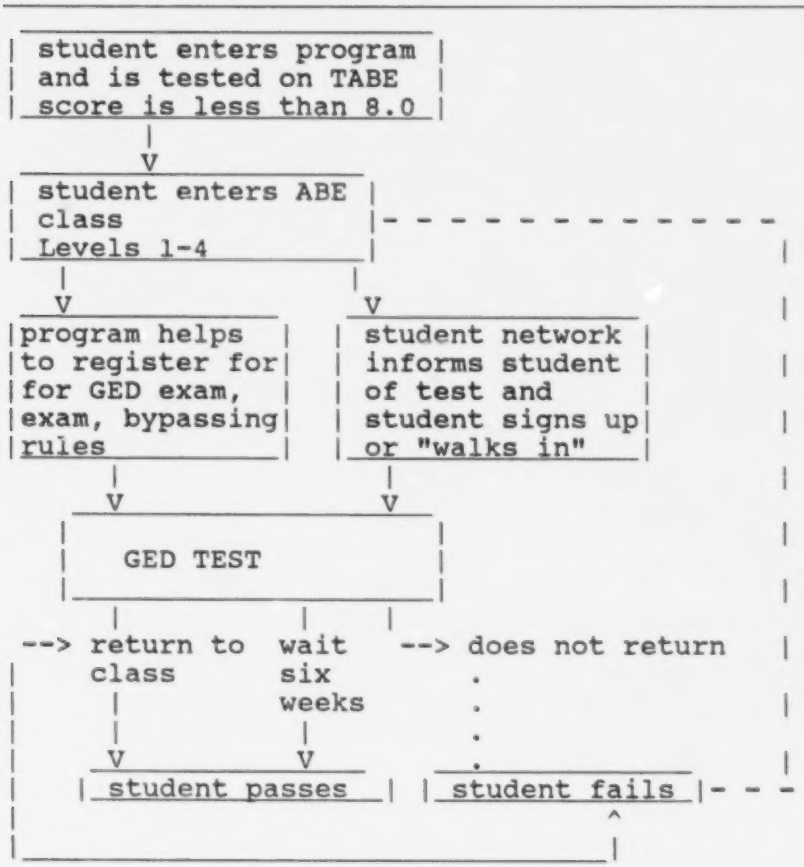
High School Equivalency Testing for Students Enrolled in Adult Programs: Formal Method


student is pretested on TABE
student enters ABE class until score is 8.0
student enters GED class
student passes practice exam
student enters GED class with total TABE score of 8.0 or reading comprehension score of 8.0
student passes practice exam
student registers for test through the program
the GED test
return to class
wait 6 weeks
drop out
student passes
student fails

A second, informal method is used by teachers and by students--current or former--who understand the system and are either not enrolled in class or bypass the formal regulations. Table 4 identifies this informal method.

Table 4

High School Equivalency Testing for Students Enrolled in Adult Programs: Informal Method


student enters program and is tested on TABE score is less than 8.0
student enters ABE class Levels 1-4
program helps to register for for GED exam, exam, bypassing rules
student network informs student of test and student signs up or "walks in"
GED TEST
return to class
wait six weeks
does not return
student passes
student fails

GED exams are given at selected test sites throughout the city on pre-set schedules which are published. The Board of Education reserves seats at these sites throughout the year and allows a pre-determined number of Board of Education students to sign up for the test. Signing up for the test through the Board requires filling out forms and having a teacher or administrator call the Board for an

appointment. Appointment personnel at the Board want to know which GED class the student is enrolled in and the teacher's name. They also want anyone who takes the exam to pass a practice GED exam first. Directors at the Consortium report having a hard time making appointments through the Board if students have low TABE scores or are not enrolled in a GED class. The Board would prefer to make appointments for people assumed to have a good chance of passing. Students who receive appointments through the Board bring their papers to a test site on the designated day. The Board keeps copies of all appointments, with the names of teachers and students, to monitor success rates.

Informally, students can get the test schedule from teachers, friends, or by calling the site, the Board, or the State Department of Education. They can show up at the test site and be seated. They must, however, show up an hour early in order to be assured of a seat. Although in theory seats are reserved, students are seated as they enter. Sometimes, though rarely, students with an appointment are not seated because of numbers of walk-ins.

A second informal way of signing up for the test is to have an educator call the test site directly to set up an appointment. Educators can also give students the dates and an entrance letter and students can walk in without making a call first. The letter is validation that the

student taking the test is enrolled in a program. However, one can take the test without having a letter, as in the case of students not enrolled in a program who "walk in."

The General Education Diplomacy Program (GED) is a nationally established program. Each state in the U.S. administers the same test. The minimum requirements for passing the test, however, vary from state to state and are regulated by the individual states. In New York State the minimum passing grade on the GED is 225. The maximum score is 400. If a person in New York State receives a diploma with a score of 225 and moves to a state with a higher passing requirement, the diploma is technically invalid.

The GED testing service (1988) describes the test as "designed to measure as nearly as possible the major and lasting outcomes and skills associated with four years of regular high school instruction" (p. 1). The test is administered throughout the year by the State of New York at selected sites in New York City that are operated by an administrator hired by the State of New York. The administrator of the program is an educator. Test proctors, however, who are paid low wages, are not necessarily educators.

The test is 4 hours and 10 minutes long. This does not include time for breaks, directions and administrative

procedures. It is administered over a period of two days and includes five separate subject areas timed separately:

1. The GED Writing Skills test consists of two parts. Part one is described by the GED testing service (1988) as a "multiple-choice section that measures the ability to edit sentences or use proofreading skills within the realistic context of one or more paragraphs." Part two is an essay section that measures the ability to compose an original, well-written response to a single topic about a subject or issue that is familiar to examinees" (p. 5).

2. The Social Studies Test "poses questions about important concepts and issues in history, geography, economics, political science and behavioral science" (GED Testing Service, 1988, p. 6).

3. The Science test draws subject matter from the "life sciences (biology) and the physical sciences (earth science, physics, chemistry)" (GED Testing Service, 1988, p. 8).

4. Interpreting literature and the arts "uses materials drawn from three areas: popular literature, classical literature, and commentary" (GED Testing Service, 1988, p. 10).

5. The mathematics test draws subject matter "from the areas of arithmetic (which include measurement, number

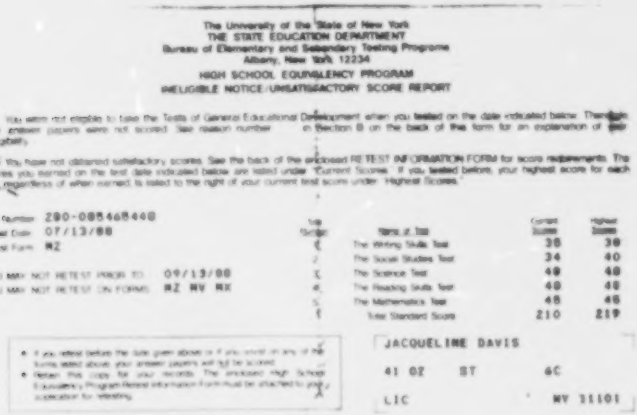
relationships, and data analysis), algebra and geometry" (GED Testing Service, 1988, p. 12).

As noted, a total of 225 is needed to pass the test. A student must receive a minimum of 40 points on each of the subsections. Individuals can take the test until they pass. However, there is a 60-day required waiting period between tests. This allows for a turnaround time of 6 weeks for scores to be recorded and sent to the student. Students are notified of their status by mail. There is no penalty for taking the test a second or third time, or more. The waiting time between signing up for a test and taking the test varies. Time of year, site, availability of space, whether the person is a walk-in or has signed up, are all factors which affect the time span.

A student's highest sub-score is always counted. The student must <u>not</u> take the same form of the test twice, however. Each form has a letter code that is indicated on the score report which is sent to the student.

Figure 4.1

Scores on Jackie's Third GED Attempt



The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Testing Programs
Albany, New York 12234
HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENCY PROGRAM
INELIGIBLE NOTICE/UNSATISFACTORY SCORE REPORT

You were not eligible to take the Tests of General Educational Development when you tested on the date indicated below. Therefore your answer papers were not scored. See reason number in Section B on the back of this form for an explanation of this ineligibility.

You have not obtained satisfactory scores. See the back of the enclosed RETEST INFORMATION FORM for score requirements. The scores you earned on the test date indicated below are listed under "Current Scores." If you tested before, your highest score for each test, regardless of when earned, is listed to the right of your current test score under "Highest Scores."

ID Number Z80-08546844B
Test Date 07/13/88
Test Form MZ

YOU MAY NOT RETEST PRIOR TO: 09/13/88
YOU MAY NOT RETEST ON FORMS: MZ MY MX

Test Subject	Name of Test	Current Scores	Highest Scores
1	The Writing Skills Test	38	38
2	The Social Studies Test	34	40
3	The Science Test	40	40
4	The Reading Skills Test	40	40
5	The Mathematics Test	45	45
6	Total Standard Score	210	219

- If you retest before the date given above or if you score on any of the tests listed above your answer papers will not be scored.
- Retain this copy for your records. The enclosed High School Equivalency Program Release Information Form must be attached to your application for retesting.

JACQUELINE DAVIS

41 02 ST 6C

LIC NY 11101

It is a student's responsibility to remember the form(s) of the test previously administered. Although test proctors are instructed to ask students whether or not they have taken the test previously and if so, which form, they often do not. In one known case at the Consortium a student who sat through the test <u>twice</u> had her scores invalidated the second time because the same form of the test was administered.

Students who are enrolled in the program in theory are expected to return to class while awaiting test results. Most students, however, await the test results before deciding whether or not to return to school.

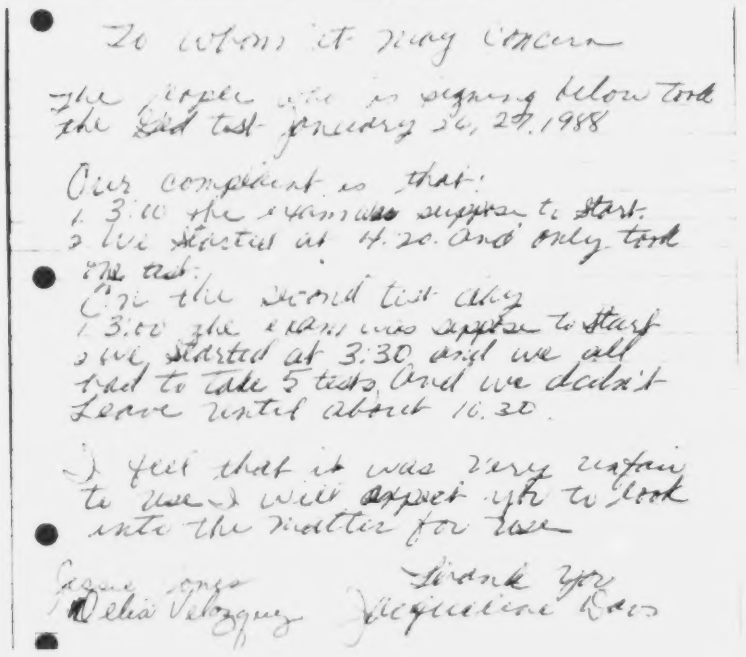
GED testing in New York City is poorly regulated and filled with abuses. Tests are cancelled or changed at whim without notifying students; proctors engage in unfair

practices such as not timing the test correctly. Test sites are noisy and unregulated.

Attached is documentation from Consortium for Worker Education directors, describing such abuses (see appendix B). Twice Jackie took the examination under conditions where the timing of the test was unexpectedly changed. This happened in February of 1988 and again in March of 1989, which upset Jackie so much that she walked out of the examination. In February 1988 Jackie wrote a letter stating her complaints. The researcher asked her to write the letter as evidence to be presented to the State Education Department.

Figure 4.2

Jackie's Letter of Complaint, 2-24-88



To whom it may concern

The people who is signing below took the GED test January 20, 24, 1988

Our complaint is that:
1. 3:00 the exam was suppose to start.
2. We started at 4:20. And only took one test.

On the second test day
1. 3:00 the exam was suppose to start
2. We started at 3:30 and we all tried to take 5 tests. And we didn't leave until about 10:30.

I feel that it was very unfair to us. I will appreciate it to look into the matter for us.

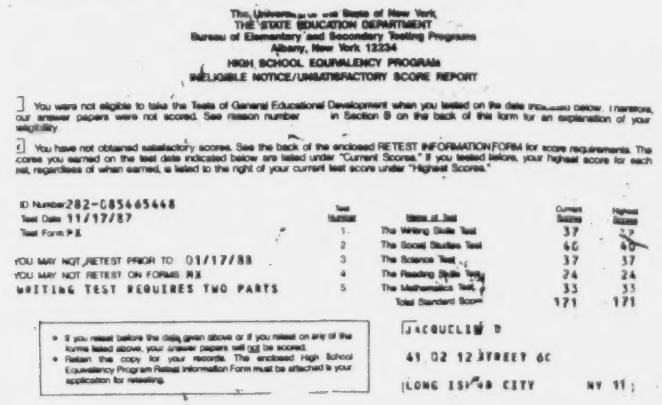
Sincerely yours
Delia Velazquez

Thank you
Jacqueline Davis

Jackie's placement did not deter her from signing up to take the GED examination on her own. Jackie was not encouraged to take the test by her teachers at IS 70, who thought she wasn't prepared. One month after enrolling at IS 70, in November 1988, Jackie took the GED on her own. This was the first of three attempts in a 1-year period. In referring to the test, Jackie states (1-88, tape 1), "The first time I took it just to see what it was about. Cold, let me tell you. School started in October. I took the GED in November." Jackie scored 171 on her first attempt. The reading teacher, Sandy, notes (4-88, interview) that she was surprised when Jackie took the GED and surprised at her score--she didn't think Jackie could score as high (171) given her low reading score (4.2).

Figure 4.3

Jackie's First GED Test Results



The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Testing Programs
Albany, New York 12234
HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENCY PROGRAM
INELIGIBLE NOTICE/UNSATISFACTORY SCORE REPORT

[ ] You were not eligible to take the Tests of General Educational Development when you tested on the date indicated below. Therefore, our answer papers were not scored. See reason number in Section B on the back of this form for an explanation of your ineligibility.

[ ] You have not obtained satisfactory scores. See the back of the enclosed RETEST INFORMATION FORM for score requirements. The scores you earned on the test date indicated below are listed under "Current Scores." If you tested before, your highest score for each test, regardless of when earned, is listed to the right of your current test score under "Highest Scores."

ID Number 282-68-5465448
Test Date 11/17/87
Test Form #X

YOU MAY NOT RETEST PRIOR TO 01/17/88
YOU MAY NOT RETEST ON FORMS #X
WRITING TEST REQUIRES TWO PARTS

Test Number	Name of Test	Current Scores	Highest Scores
1	The Writing Skills Test	37	37
2	The Social Studies Test	66	66
3	The Science Test	37	37
4	The Reading Skills Test	24	24
5	The Mathematics Test	33	33
	Total Standard Score	171	171

- If you retest before the date given above or if you retest on any of the forms listed above, your answer papers will not be scored.
- Retain this copy for your records. The enclosed High School Equivalency Program Retest Information Form must be attached to your application for retesting.

JACQUELINE B
41 02 12 STREET 6C
LONG ISLAND CITY NY 11

On two subsequent attempts at the GED, Jackie scored 210

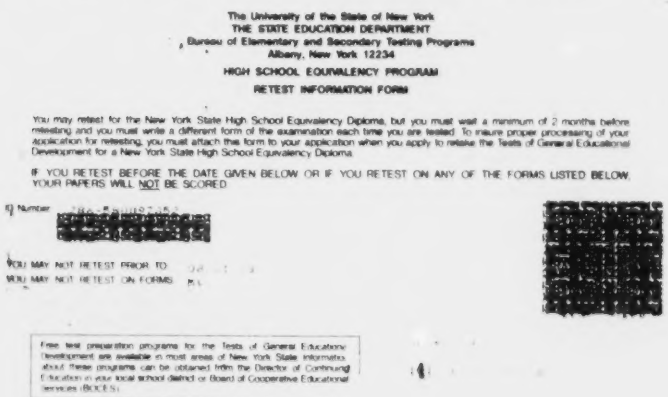
and 219. She is currently awaiting the result of her fourth attempt.

In June 1988 Gerald signed up to take the GED examination. The supervisor at IS 70 spoke to Gerald's class and he decided to register (10-88). He was given choices of time and place by the supervisor. Gerald signed up for the GED using the informal method. One of the supervisors at IS 70 approached all basic education pre-GED and GED students and staff, providing alternate GED dates. Students chose convenient dates and were given entrance letters. The IS 70 supervisor then confirmed the appointments with the testing site where he "knew someone."

Gerald failed at his first attempt at the test and lost the results. He was unable to sign up for a second examination until an original test confirmation was re-issued, which stated the form of his first examination.

Figure 4.4

Gerald's Re-issued Test Confirmation



The University of the State of New York
THE STATE EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
Bureau of Elementary and Secondary Testing Programs
Albany, New York 12234

HIGH SCHOOL EQUIVALENCY PROGRAM

RETEST INFORMATION FORM

You may retest for the New York State High School Equivalency Diploma, but you must wait a minimum of 2 months before retesting and you must write a different form of the examination each time you are tested. To insure proper processing of your application for retesting, you must attach this form to your application when you apply to retake the Tests of General Educational Development for a New York State High School Equivalency Diploma.

IF YOU RETEST BEFORE THE DATE GIVEN BELOW OR IF YOU RETEST ON ANY OF THE FORMS LISTED BELOW, YOUR PAPERS WILL NOT BE SCORED.

1) Number [redacted]

YOU MAY NOT RETEST PRIOR TO [redacted]

YOU MAY NOT RETEST ON FORMS [redacted]

Free test preparation programs for the Tests of General Educational Development are available in most areas of New York State. Information about these programs can be obtained from the Director of Continuing Education in your local school district or Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES).

In August of 1988 during the researcher's visit to the Red Lobster, Gerald mentioned that he had failed the GED test. He said he would try again and was optimistic about passing. He knew he had to be careful about his timing. Gerald has stated that he doesn't always finish a test. He said this was true of the TABE as well as the GED.

Gerald returned to school in October of 1988 to continue studying for the GED. However, by January 1989 he had stopped attending classes.

Gerald says that he plans to take the GED examination again on his own. He stated in an interview (1-89 field notes) that he continues to work on GED questions at home with his girlfriend in preparation for the examination which he will take when he returns from his upcoming trip to St. Thomas. Gerald's girlfriend structures activities to help him study for the test. He also has books and practice tests given to him by the researcher as study guides.

Gerald took the examination again in June, 1989. He had not attended class since January, 1989 but states that he practiced at home with his girlfriend, using GED preparation materials. Gerald failed at his second attempt. His girlfriend reports (telephone conversation, 11-89) that he did not pass the writing skills test. His scores on the other 4 parts were between 38 and 41.

Writing was not a focus of instruction in school or in tutoring sessions with his girlfriend.

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS: PART TWO

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the participant Jackie D. The five factors--resource networks, goal-orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success--are exemplified at school, at home, and at work.

Jackie D. is a 34-year-old black woman, born in the United States. She has two children, a daughter Tisha, 17, and a son Sean, 13. She recently separated from her husband to whom she had been legally married for 13 years. He is the father of both of her children. Jackie's marriage has always been a shaky one. During the 13 years she separated from her husband once for a period of a year; recently in April of 1989 they separated again. She states in a telephone conversation (5-89) that she wants nothing from him anymore. According to Jackie (telephone conversation, 5-89), she needs to feel independent and on her own. Jackie feels that he left her because she has been asserting herself lately, and has been more independent. This she views as a change in her behavior and attitude which her husband didn't like. She states

that she won't take any money from him for herself. However, she doesn't mind if he gives money to the kids. She further states that her job and her job security mean more to her now that he is not sharing the household expenses with her.

Jackie's husband, when they were together, did not support her efforts at school. In September, 1988 he took a second job which coincided with Jackie's night school. He insisted that she be home to prepare meals for him and wake him up when it was time to leave for his night job. Jackie states this is the reason she did not return to school in October, 1988.

Jackie presently lives with the children in a two-bedroom apartment in a public housing project in Long Island City. She has expressed an interest in purchasing a city-owned cooperative apartment. She states that she has $2,000 required for purchase of the apartment and is on the waiting list to get in. She views the move as a step up and says, "That's why I want to keep on working and working and build myself up because I want to get outta there [the housing project]" (tape 10, 8-88). Since her husband left her, she has been looking for apartments in other parts of Queens. She is also supporting the family on her own. Her husband gives the children money but not on a regular or legally defined basis.

Job and job security were the reasons Jackie enrolled in the Teamster education program. Jackie works as a part-time district school guard at an elementary school in Queens. For full-time employment as a school safety officer, which is the next step on her promotional ladder, Jackie must have a high school equivalency diploma. Without the diploma, her present job is in jeopardy and she is not eligible for promotion. She is also under a time limit as the union says the future in her present job is uncertain, without the GED.

As a district guard, Jackie arrives for work at 9 and leaves at 1. She is responsible for front-door activities and monitors anyone entering and leaving the building. It is her responsibility to direct individuals to proper rooms, to sign outsiders in and out of the building, and to see that all entrances are secure. She is also asked on occasion to work in the school office. This, however, is not part of her job description and is the province of school aides. However, as Jackie states (4-88, tape 4), "Sometimes they ask me, 'Jackie, can you help me out a little bit in the office?' and I'll do some office work but I'm not supposed to do it--but I do it." Jackie has built friendships with office personnel by helping out. In return, those on her job help her by serving as resources for jobs, for help with personal problems and for engaging

in literacy events. For her work as a school guard, Jackie earns $9.75 an hour.

Jackie dropped out of Jamaica High School at the age of 16 when she was pregnant with her daughter. She states that she did not return to school until October 1987 when she enrolled in the Teamster education program, because she wanted the GED. She states that although it was the union's urging and the need to maintain her present job, which gave her the final impetus to enroll in the program, she intended to get the equivalency anyway. In an interview Jackie states, "I'm going to get my GED. I don't care if it takes me 5-6 times. I'm going to take it [the GED exam]" (1-88, tape 1). In a journal entry Jackie states, "I have to get my GED which is very important to me" (journal entry, 4-88). "If I'm going to stress to my kids to get theirs [diploma], I feel I should have mine" (3-88, tape 4).

Jackie claims that enrolling in the Teamster program was her first time back in school since dropping out of Jamaica High School. However, in the time between, she attended Wilfred Academy and became a licensed cosmetologist. Jackie passed certification tests in order to graduate from Wilfred Academy. These were school tests designed to assess readiness for graduation. New York State requires separate testing for licensing. This test

is given in two parts. A temporary licensing exam is given to permit an individual to practice for a period of six months. This is followed by a permanent licensing exam. Jackie passed the temporary license exam but did not pass the permanent certification test. She plans to re-take the test in the future. Jackie now operates a hair-dressing business out of her home in her spare time. This gives her extra needed income. She has a Manicure Award, a Roux Cosmetology certificate, and a Wilfred Academy of Culture diploma displayed in her apartment (8-88, field notes). Jackie keeps notes on her regular customers in a record box. These are indexed by the customers' last name. Name, address and date of service are indicated as well as services rendered, operator charges and remarks. Some comments include: "Care-free regular, ultra sheen, relax, excellent" (8-88, field notes). She keeps records on all of her customers but separates the distant customers from the ones who live in the housing project. Jackie states (8-88, tape 12) that "the ones around here, I don't keep records on them--only the ones that come a distance--the people that come from Manhattan--some of the ones I keep records on. But the ones from around the neighborhood I keep my calendar which tells me whose head I have to do." Her records indicate that she is running a lucrative cash business. Jackie offers a variety of hair processes

including cut, straightening, perm, set and color, depending on customer requests.

Jackie worked in McDonalds, in a bridal factory, and at a beauty parlor before becoming a school guard. For a while in between jobs she was on and off welfare but reports in an interview that "welfare makes you lazy. You ain't gonna get me back on welfare" (3-88, tape 4). Jackie would like to stay within the public school system. However, she maintains that whatever job she takes it will always be better than the last one. Jackie states (interview, 3-88), "I don't want to go down, I don't want to go backwards. I want to stay going forward." She mentions ambitions to be a paraprofessional or a dean.

Jackie not only has ambitions for herself, she has ambitions for her family. She views herself as a mother who will push and encourage her children. She wants both her children to graduate from high school and states that she stresses "to my kids to get theirs [diploma]" (3-88, tape 4). She feels that by returning to school and studying, she is setting a good example for her children, particularly her son.

Jackie holds out great hope for her daughter Tisha, who is very successful in school, as measured by high grades, offers of scholarships, and participation in extracurricular activities, basketball in particular.

Jackie's daughter was given the opportunity to attend a private high school upstate, but Jackie felt she wasn't ready to handle school away from home as she might fall in with the wrong people. Jackie felt she was immature and might be negatively influenced by people Jackie did not know. Jackie described her relationship with her daughter as being more like friends than mother and daughter (8-88, field notes). Jackie states that her daughter often helps her with the writing assignments given by the researcher as practice for the GED. Jackie is very proud of her daughter who has aspirations to go to college and become a lawyer. They are looking into scholarships and are both aware that Tisha, the daughter, must take the Scholastic Aptitude Test in her senior year (September, 1989). The whole family attends Tisha's basketball games. Jackie thinks the coach depends on Tisha's expertise too much, and lets him know that Tisha is not the only kid on the team.

Jackie's son Sean, on the other hand, does not do well in school. He is in a special education class in a junior high school of Jackie's selection. She has had him moved around from one junior high school to another because she felt he wasn't learning anything--his notebooks were empty. He never had homework and when she went up to his classroom there was nothing on the blackboard to indicate work. She reports that the students were fooling around and the

teacher wasn't doing anything. Jackie (8-88, tape 11) states, "These special ed classes is a waste of kids' time. It makes them come out stupid instead of smart. You know they don't teach you anything. They got all different problems into one classroom whereas I don't like--and you can't tell me because I worked in there and I visit those classrooms." Jackie feels that her son is a follower, easily led by others into trouble. Twice, between October 1987 and April 1989, Jackie's son was suspended from school for fighting.

Jackie's son hates being in special education classes and is embarrassed by the label (8-88, field notes). He blames her for his placement and feels that Jackie put him in and so she should get him out. Jackie blames the system and the teachers and has been to the school on numerous occasions where she has seen and asked for evidence of what Jackie describes as the school's failure. In a taped interview (1-88) she states, "I had talked with the guidance counselor and she told me she says, 'Listen, why do you want it?' [referring to his IEP records]. And I said, 'Listen, I don't want the IUP, I want a copy of the school record--if I wanted the IUP I woulda asked for it. I want a copy cause I'm gonna compare those scores from the four years that he's been in there.'" Jackie sees no progress and no change in his knowledge. She is frustrated

by him, the system, and by her own inability to do more for him. She and her husband were working on practicing reading exercises with him during summer vacation (8-88, field notes). During the summer of 1988 Jackie's daughter had a temporary job in an office, but her son was at home. She had asked him to get working papers so he could get a job, but he didn't--he stayed home for the summer.

Jackie relates to each child differently. Her daughter is independent, self-sufficient, and successful. Jackie and her daughter are girl friends. Jackie's son wants Jackie's attention and is depending on her to remove him from special education. There is tension between Jackie and her son. He is not successful and Jackie is not successful in her attempts to help him. She says she'll just keep him home from school because he has perfect attendance and he still hasn't learned anything. Jackie and her son are not friends. Jackie has high expectations for her daughter, low expectations for her son.

She feels that her husband is interested in money and preserving his pride. Since the separation, Jackie and the family have been seeing a psychologist at the union. As for herself she is interested in maintaining her independence, challenging herself, obtaining her GED both as a public certification that she is competent, and as accreditation for her job. She views herself as having

"some problems with vocabulary--not reading" (11-88, tape 2). She describes herself in an interview (1-89) as a person who is neither dumb nor borderline but that she should be able to express herself better. She felt studying vocabulary would help her to express herself better. She felt she needed to brush up on math (2-89 conversation). Both vocabulary and math were part of the schooling Jackie felt she needed and would find in GED classes. In October 1987 Jackie enrolled in classes with the purpose of getting her GED. In November 1988 she took the GED for the first time and failed. In January of 1988 she was introduced to the researcher by the administrative staff at the IS 70 education program site.

School--Jackie D.

This section describes Jackie's classes and teachers at IS 70. The five factors of resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success are exemplified as they are manifested at school.

Jackie enrolled in the Teamster education program housed at IS 70 in October of 1987. Although she stated that her goal was to obtain a GED, she was placed in a Basic Education Class scheduled to meet for 30 weeks between October 1987 and June 1988. The Basic Education

program at IS 70 meets in 3-hour sessions which Jackie attended twice weekly. These sessions are divided into two parts, with two different teachers. From 5:30 until 6:50 Jackie had math. After a break, the class had reading from 7:15 until 8:30.

Jackie's reading teacher describes Jackie as "disruptive and demanding attention, setting herself up to fail." She continues by describing Jackie as one who "is afraid to be wrong, who can't take any correction or criticism, and is fearful of anything new" (4-88, field notes). Jackie's reading teacher's goal is to raise her reading score to GED level (8.0) by having her participate in activities which are similar to those included on the TABE test of measured achievement. Class activities are specifically geared with this in mind, and are teacher directed.

Reading instruction was totally based on a deficit model of instruction aimed at learning and mastering isolated sets of skills. In nine separate visits to the classroom the researcher notes the following use of text and materials in the classroom: TABE testing, timed reading activities, McCall-Crabbs reading texts, spelling tests, vocabulary drill, and a discussion of a poem written by a student (unsolicited by the teacher).

Figure 5.1

Jackie's Spelling Test

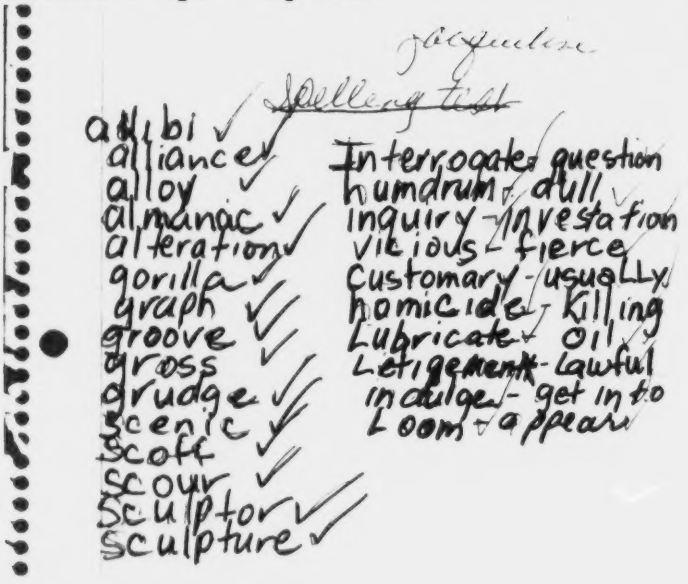
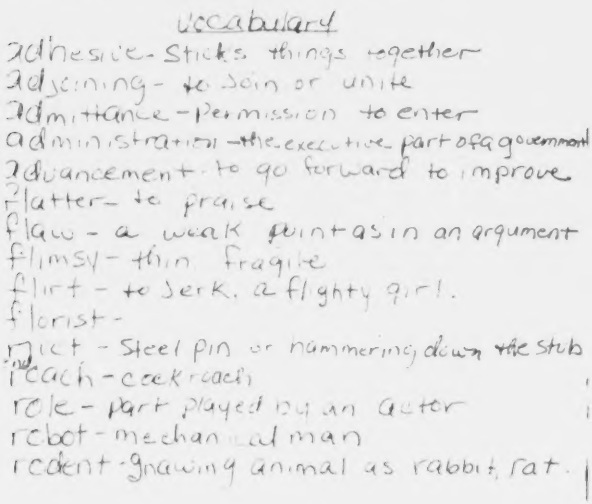


Figure 5.2

Jackie's Vocabulary Work

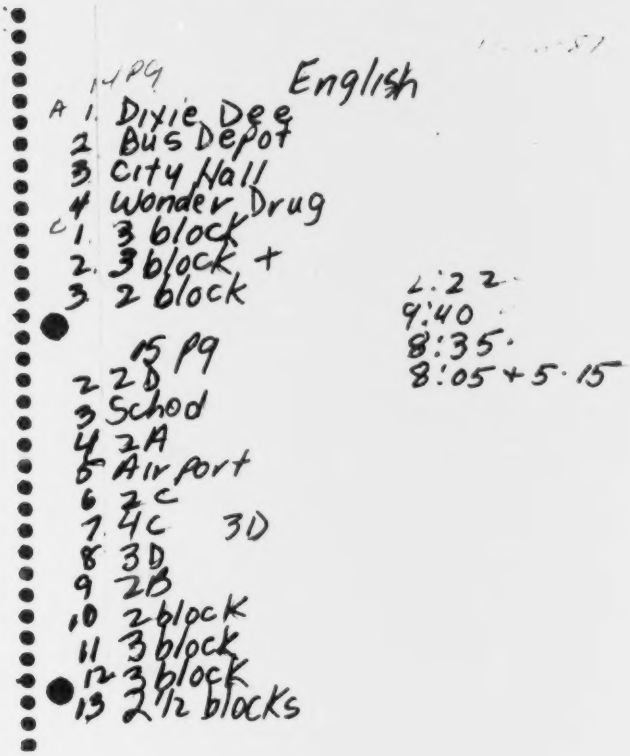

Vocabulary
adhesive - Sticks things together
adjoining - to join or unite
admittance - Permission to enter
administration - the executive part of a government
advancement - to go forward to improve
flatter - to praise
flaw - a weak point as in an argument
flimsy - thin fragile
flirt - to jerk, a flighty girl.
florist -
rivet - Steel pin or hammering down the stub
reach - creek reach
role - part played by an actor
robot - mechanical man
rodent - gnawing animal as rabbit, rat.

On timed reading tests Jackie scored 4.9/4.6/4.6 which were perfect scores on the individual tests she was given.

Jackie (3-88 journal entry) comments on another test she was given in spelling, "In English I had a spelling test. I didn't study but did good. . . . We had 30 words and I got wrong 10. Then I was giving a speed reading and I was being time."

Figure 5.3

Jackie's Timed Reading



Jackie's math teacher's agenda is to teach the state-mandated curriculum (5-88, tape 6). His method of teaching did not vary. He explains a problem and then calls on students one at a time only to work the problem which is on

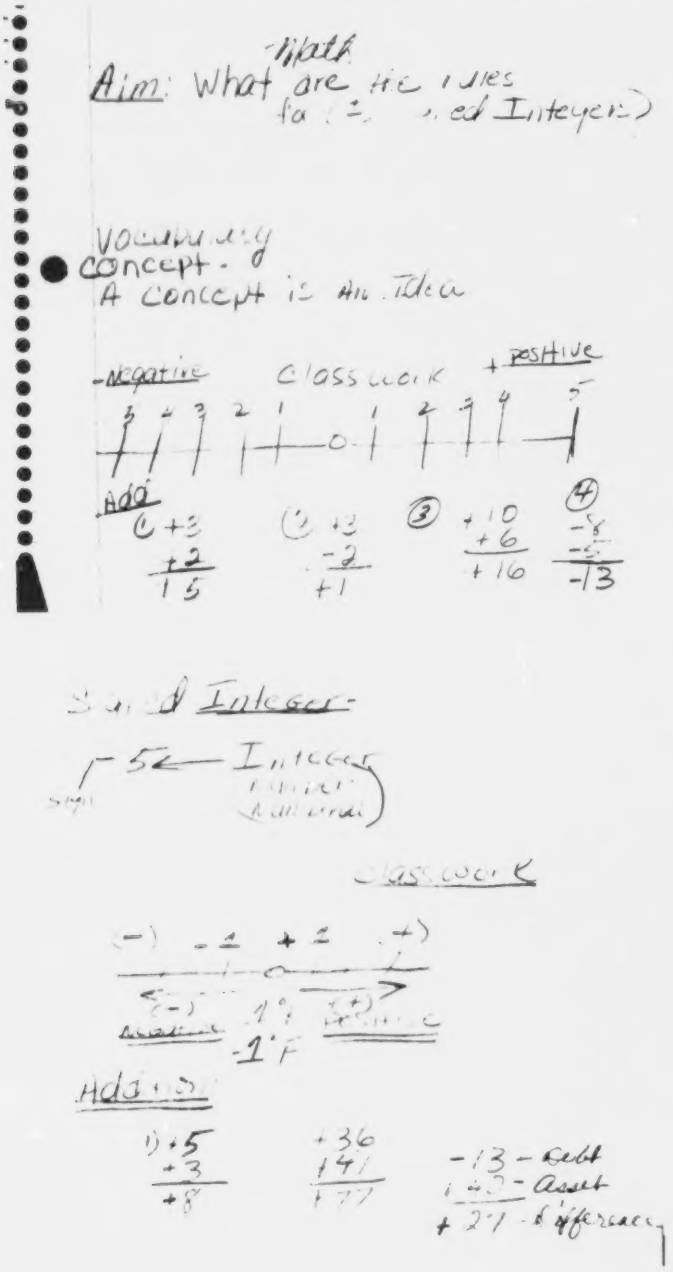
the blackboard. Students then work on individual problems at their desks.

The teacher focuses on the mechanics of mathematical operations. During the nine classroom visits, he was observed teaching multiplication of decimals, addition and subtraction of signed numbers, distinguishing between negative and positive numbers and simple algebraic equations. Each skill was taught separately as a mechanical operation with no regard to making connections between the mechanics and problem solving or life experiences.

During one particularly vexing and confusing lesson on adding and subtracting signed numbers, the teacher states (4-88, tape 4), "Look at what you do. I don't care what you are thinking. As a matter of fact I don't want you to think. Look at the mechanics." The researcher notes (4-88, field notes) that the students don't understand the concept. Ira states (4-88, tape 4), "Take my word. Believe me, say 'Ira is crazier than usual.' . . . I'm going to give it to you right from the book."

Figure 5.4

Jackie's Math Work on Signed Numbers

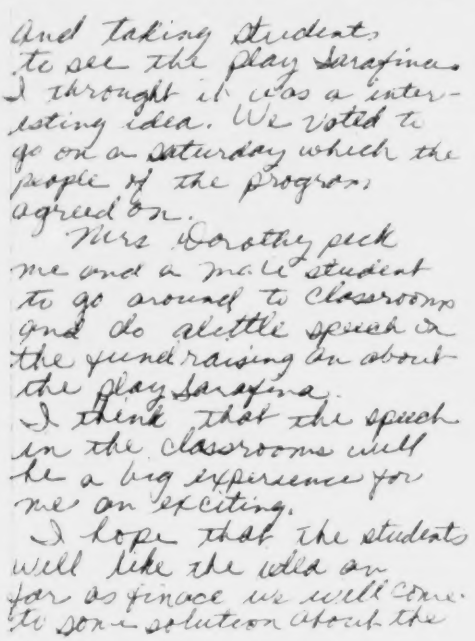


Between late March 1988 and early May 1988 students worked on signed numbers with little understanding. The teacher kept referring to the rules and the book. On one occasion he related signed numbers to money because of the reading teacher's intervention at seeing the misunderstanding.

Jackie developed a supportive relationship with two members of the administrative staff at IS 70. Jackie enjoyed both of them and states (2-89, field notes) that "I talked to Dorothy and Shirley--they helped to make me feel positive. In a journal entry (3-88) she reports,

Figure 5.5

Jackie's Journal Entry, 3-88--Dorothy



And taking students to see the play Sarafina. I thought it was a interesting idea. We voted to go on a Saturday which the people of the program agreed on.

Mrs Dorothy pick me and a male student to go around to classrooms and do a little speech on the fund raising on about the play Sarafina.

I think that the speech in the classrooms will be a big experience for me an exciting.

I hope that the students will like the idea on for as finace we will come to some solution about the

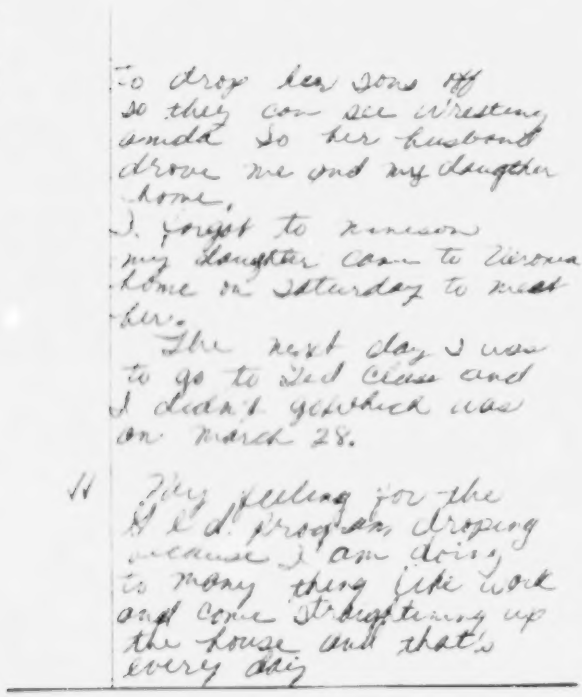
The researcher also mentioned to Dorothy and Shirley (1-89) that it might be a good idea to have students talk to the teachers about their experiences and she recommended Jackie. Jackie reports (2-89 conversation) that Dorothy had spoken to her about talking to the teachers and she said she would.

Jackie expressed her first desire to drop out of school in April 1988. "I don't even want to come. I come because of you . . . [the researcher]. They [teachers] make you feel like you're children. They make you feel like you're little kids and stuff" (4-88, tape 5). The researcher notes (2-89 conversation) that in a conversation Jackie states that "a lot of teachers are not aware that if you don't challenge students it's bad." Jackie says that teachers told her that her entry level score of 4.2 wasn't good enough to take the test (GED) but she took it anyway--"I wanted to take the test right away and Sandy said . . . no. . . . I said I'm challenging myself. . . . I felt I wanted to show them." During a conversation with the researcher Jackie and a student discussed the GED test itself and the student noted (2-88, tape 2), "What we did on the test--we ain't learned nothing we done on the test. What we practice--they don't have on the test but one or two." Jackie agreed, "That's true."

Lack of challenge, a mismatch of agendas, a feeling of being treated as a child and being too busy are the reasons Jackie points to for dropping out. Jackie was unsuccessful in school. In a journal entry (undated) Jackie notes,

Figure 5.6

Jackie's Journal Entry--Dropping Out


To drop her sons off so they can see Wrestling and so her husband drove me and my daughter home,
I forgot to remind my daughter come to Verona home on Saturday to meet her.
The next day I was to go to Ged Class and I didn't go which was on march 28.
My feeling for the G.E.D. program, droping because I am doing to many thing like work and come straighting up the house and that's every day

Both of Jackie's teachers approached the teaching/ learning situation from a deficit model. Only one use of literacy was observed. The reading class focused on a discrete set of skills designed to raise the tested reading level to a total score of 8.0 and was totally teacher

directed. The math class focused on isolated sets of skills unrelated to problem solving abilities. Students engaged in activities similar to the TABE and, in a few instances, similar to the GED. Teachers judged Jackie's abilities by her scores; assumptions about her included judgments about what type of material she was able to read. Reading was associated with reading for the test and reading test-like material.

Jackie never considered herself a reader. In an initial interview she stated that her reading was limited to daily newspapers and magazines. She never thought she could read books (field notes, 3-88). Books were never presented as possibilities to Jackie in school, and reading books was something she thought she couldn't do.

In March of 1988, Jackie was given her first novel by the researcher, Kane and Abel. It was a novel that the researcher had read and was able to discuss with Jackie. Jackie initially had trouble following the story line because the story is told through a series of flashbacks. She did, however, begin to create her own "memory jogs"--lists of characters which she wrote in the front of the book to help her follow the story. She also used the book itself--explanations on the back cover--to help her follow the story. In a memo of June 1988 the researcher notes that the blurb on the cover tells the story, which leads me

that the blurb on the cover tells the story, which leads me to believe that one way of approaching reading with Jackie and others is to tell them about the chapter/part of the text before they actually read. Jackie bought the sequel, The Prodigal Daughter, herself. A third novel, Scruples, presented problems to Jackie because it is a book which contains parallel stories. However, as with the other books, she developed a strategy to help her follow the plot--once again using the blurb to help her to follow along. The five major characters in the book are listed with descriptions inside the front cover. Whenever Jackie got confused she returned to the front of the book to help her with sequence and character. Scruples was the most difficult of the books because of the flashbacks and parallel stories. However, discussions of the story with the researcher, who had read the book, and the strategies created by Jackie herself helped her to understand and follow the book. Jackie says that she has more confidence in herself as a reader since she has been reading novels (field notes, 2-89). She states that she now has the confidence to pick up books on her own for information and enjoyment. She describes (7-89 telephone conversation) reading a book about teenage problems which is helping her to understand her son. She also wants to get Shirley MacLaine's book which she heard about on a television talk

show. She feels this book might help her with thinking positively.

Jackie D. was unable to meet success in school. Her quest for certification was blocked from the beginning by a system which denied her access to empowering literacy events and certification classes. She dropped out of this system but maintained a connection with the union and the researcher who had become part of the resource network, entwined with reaching her goal--the high school equivalency degree.

Home and Work--Jackie D.

The five factors of resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success are exemplified as they are manifested at home and work.

Jackie has created a large resource network for herself which includes her union, colleagues at work, friends, her family, the administrative staff at IS 70, and the researcher.

The school personnel at P.S. 2 where Jackie is employed as a district guard serve as a multi-resource for Jackie. Recently, after her husband left, she said she spoke to and got some advice from the guidance counselor who helped her to understand and work through her marital

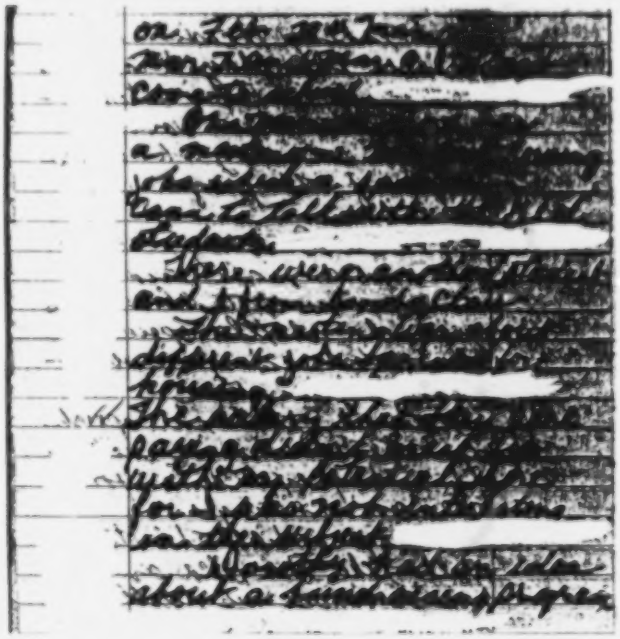
difficulties (5-88 telephone conversation). As she is well-liked by the staff, she is recommended for summer jobs which are hard to get. When it was known that her job as a guard was in jeopardy, she was offered a position as a truant officer. School personnel also supply Jackie with reading material for herself and for her son. Jackie states (8-88, tape 10), "This lady at work--she gave me a lot of hard-cover books." Jackie states that she just "took the whole bag" and started reading one, "The Red Fox," which she wasn't interested in. There was a second book that she started to read but gave to her daughter to read on the trip to Virginia. The book, "The Twelve Apostles," was read by the daughter. Jackie also turns to the personnel at P.S. 2 to help her with her son. They have explained to her how to obtain his school records and she has asked the school secretary to help her write a letter to the Chancellor describing what Jackie views as a school environment where her son has not learned to read and write, as evidenced by the scores on his records which Jackie claims have not changed in four years. In an attempt to help her son learn to read, she got some reading exercise books much the same as she was using at IS 70 to give to her son. Sean, her son, was working on the paragraphs and questions when the researcher visited in August 1988. Jackie helps her son read in the same way she

is taught reading at IS 70. She also measures his success in reading by his reading scores.

Jackie uses her union in a variety of ways. Aside from attending union-sponsored classes, she attends the monthly meetings held at the Teamsters' offices for school safety officers and district guards, where she gets updated information about her job status. She also uses the union as a resource for information on other job opportunities. A note from Jackie's journal of March 14, 1988 describes a meeting she attended with the housing authority, which is also represented by Local 237.

Figure 5.7

Jackie's Journal Entry, 3-88--Union Meeting



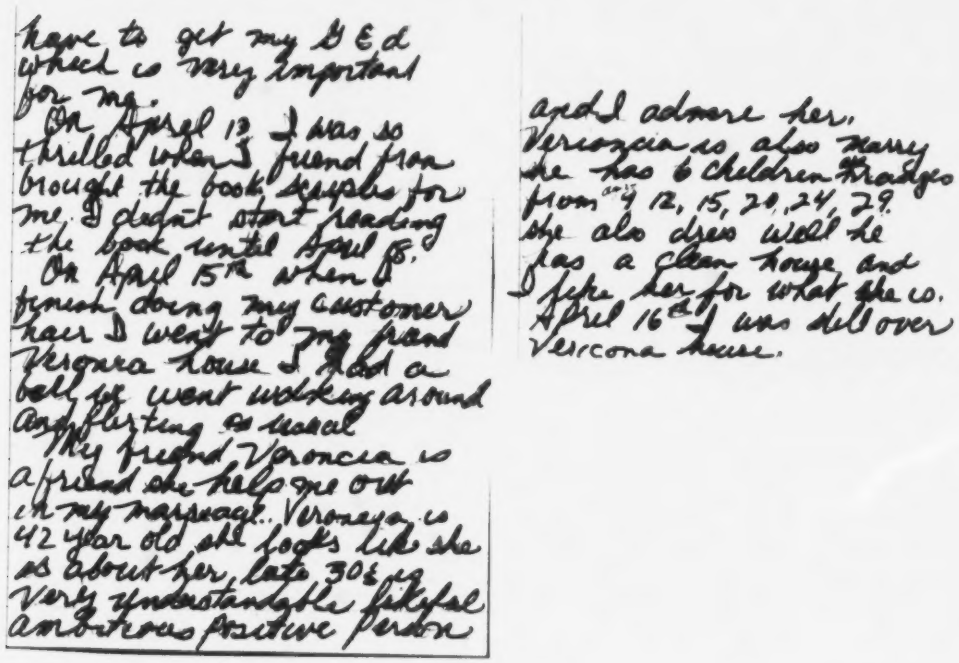
When Jackie was unsure about which pension plan to select, she met with a union adviser to help her understand the choices. Jackie is also investigating the possibility of marital counseling through the union staff counselor.

Friends play an important part in Jackie's life. She reports being interested in people who can teach her something and who have, as Jackie says, "more than me" (2-89, field notes). Jackie says that she likes to deal with people who have more than she has. "I don't like to deal with people who are on my level or below. I want to be with people who can teach me something. I have more men friends--they can teach me more than women--they [men] don't gossip--the [women] confuse you. There is an element of jealousy. Men are more supportive and less phony. Women pretend a lot" (2-89 conversation).

Jackie's journal entry, April 1988, mentions a woman friend, Veronica.

Figure 5.8

Jackie's Journal Entry--Veronica


have to get my G E d
which is very important
for me.
On April 13 I was so
thrilled when a friend from
brought the book samples for
me. I didn't start reading
the book until April 15.
On April 15th when I
finish doing my customer
hair I went to my friend
Vergara house I had a
ball we went walking around
and flirting as usual
My friend Veronica is
a friend she help me out
in my marriage. Veronica is
42 year old she looks like she
as about her late 30's very
Very understandable faithful
ambitious positive person
and I admire her.
Veronica is also many
she has 6 children Grades
from 4 12, 15, 20, 24, 29.
she also dress well he
has a clean house and
I like her for what she is.
April 16th I was all over
Vercona house.

Jackie's older sister is her best friend whom she describes as being slow and in many cases dependent upon Jackie for help. In an interview Jackie states (tape 1, 1-88), "Well my older sister--she's very slow. Now she's slow to the point where's that, she doesn't know how to read. She's trying but far as really understanding what she's reading--like say for instance if she gets a letter in the mail--and she get a lot of public assistance--she'll come over to me and, ask me, 'Jackie, can you explain this, tell me?' And I'll try my best to explain it to her--

that's how she gets by." Jackie has also helped her out with a housing problem and in March 1988, brought her sister to visit with the researcher to see if the researcher could help her with a job placement program.

Jackie was well liked by the administrative staff at IS 70. They provide access to resources and were instrumental in encouraging her to participate in this research project. On January 4, 1988 Jackie and the researcher met and since that time have developed a friendship. The researcher has become part of Jackie's support network in that they continue to work together on preparation for the GED exam. The researcher also encouraged Jackie to read books, get help for her son, and is presently helping her with her marital difficulties as a listener and as a link to counseling help at the union.

Jackie D. is part of a large social network which operates as a factor in her life. This network provides her with support and offers access to information and literacy events. Included in her network are union personnel, teachers, staff at her job, friends, and the researcher.

Jackie is goal oriented and motivated to do many things with her life. She wants to save her job and perhaps get a better paying one. In order to do that she must obtain her GED. She continues to work toward this

effort despite the fact that she is no longer enrolled in an adult education class. She wants to move to a cooperative apartment. She is determined not to go on welfare. She continues her hairdressing business to earn extra money. She is presently the only financial support in the home. She wants her daughter to go to college and hopes that her son can finish high school. She is clearly goal oriented and has a future focus. She in her own words asserts the desire to stay with people who can teach her something. She enjoys learning new things and is especially pleased by her new-found confidence as a reader of novels. Jackie's most immediate goal is the GED which represents to her a secure future as a productive worker, but is also a measure of her self-worth. To Jackie, the GED is "my world" (3-89 conversation). She has decided to pursue this goal by working on her own at home and by studying with the researcher.

Self-direction and independence are clearly factors operating in Jackie's life. She has engaged in activities where she assumed the responsibility for planning and carrying out the endeavor as evidenced by her business and her graduation from Wilfred Academy. She is presently pursuing her GED which will assure her minimal economic stability and give her a sense of personal satisfaction.

Jackie uses literacy in a variety of ways at home, at work, and during the course of her daily activities. She purchases and reads the Daily News every day. In a memo (1-12-89) the researcher notes that Jackie always has a copy of the News with her whenever we meet. During a taped interview (4-88, tape 5) she notes, "I always read my newspaper but I never get enough reading out of the newspaper." In June 1988 the researcher noted again that each time we are together Jackie D. has a newspaper and we discuss one of the stories. The memo continues, "today's discussion was about the Emmy awards." Other newspaper issues discussed during tutoring sessions in December 1988 and January and February 1989 were the Pan Am disaster, drugs, and the Rushdie affair. These issues were used in writing sessions with the researcher, where the researcher attempted to develop connections between the text of the newspapers and Jackie's spoken and written use of language.

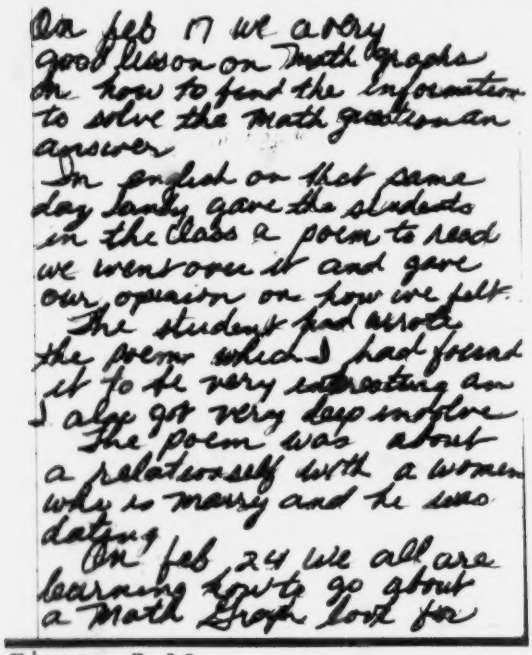
As a school guard, Jackie is required to keep and refer to a master list of school personnel in order to direct people to the appropriate rooms. She also maintains a daily log book for people to sign in and out of the building, and must keep a time card for herself. For her business she keeps records and calendars for notations on her customers. She also subscribes to two magazines, "Shop Talk" and "Black Enterprise," so that her customers will

have something to read while she is doing their hair and so that she is kept "updated on a lot of things" (8-88, tape 12). In referring to the magazine "Black Enterprise," Jackie states (8-88, tape 12), "We subscribe for it. See that's why I can't say that I don't sit around here and don't read at all. I be reading something." In her spare time Jackie enjoys doing the word search puzzle books and on two occasions, January and August 1988, was engaged in working with these books with the researcher present.

At the researcher's request Jackie began to maintain a journal in February of 1988. Between February and May of 1988, Jackie wrote in her journal. Although this was not an activity related to her work in school, Jackie's initial entries were all about school because she felt that was the right thing to do and was in fact what the researcher wanted her to do. In field notes (2-88) the researcher states, "Jackie gave me her first journal entry today. She was so proud to give it to me but feared she was doing it wrong. 'I know this isn't right'" (2-88, tape 2). Between February and May Jackie's journal changed from one of reporting events related to school to one in which she begins to personalize.

Figure 5.9

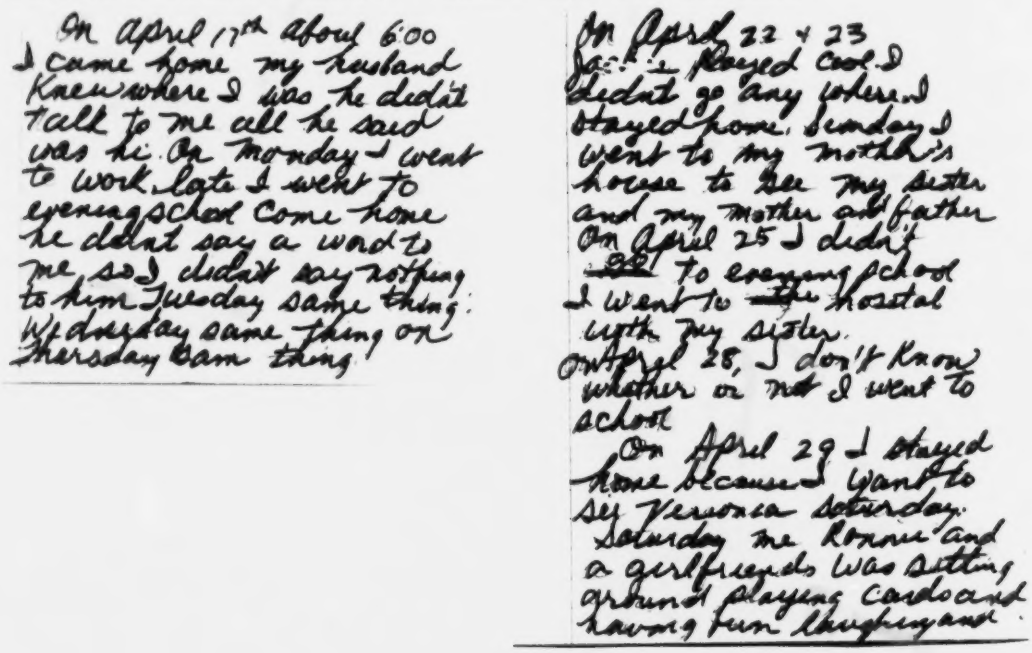
Jackie's Journal Entry--Math Lesson



On feb 17 we a very good lesson on Math Graphs on how to find the information to solve the math question an answer
In english on that same day Sandy gave the students in the class a poem to read we went over it and gave our opinion on how we felt. The student had a book the poem which I had found it to be very interesting and I also got very deep into love. The poem was about a relationship with a women who is marry and he was dating
On feb 24 we all are learning how to go about a Math Graph look for

Figure 5.10

Jackie's Journal Entry--Jackie and Her Husband



On April 17th about 6:00 I came home my husband knew where I was he didn't talk to me all he said was hi. On monday I went to work late I went to evening school come home he didn't say a word to me so I didn't say nothing to him Tuesday same thing. Wednesday same thing on Thursday same thing

On April 22 & 23 Jackie played cool I didn't go any where I stayed home. Sunday I went to my mother's house to see my sister and my mother and father
On April 25 I didn't ~~go~~ to evening school I went to the hospital with my sister.
On April 28, I don't know whether or not I went to school
On April 29 I stayed home because I want to see Veronica Saturday. Saturday me Ronnie and a girlfriends was sitting around playing cards and having fun laughing and

Reading and writing activities are a factor in Jackie's life, and she engages in multiple uses of literacy on a daily basis. Each use of literacy has a specific function, meaning, or purpose for Jackie, and are unlike school literacy activities. Since meeting the researcher, she has expanded her uses of literacy to include the reading of books for information and enjoyment.

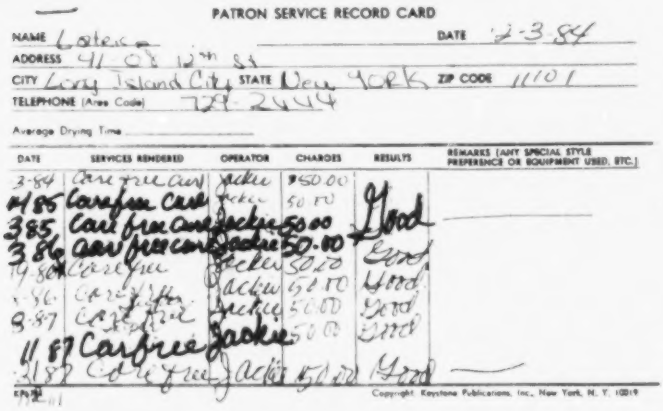
Jackie owns many of the material goods valued as a measure of success. She owns a telephone answering machine, stereo equipment, a VCR, a 10-speed bicycle, a rowing machine, and exercise bicycle. She and the family take car trips and in August 1988 visited Virginia Beach, staying in a nearby motel. She was planning a trip to Florida in August of 1989.

After graduation from Wilfred Academy, Jackie worked for a short time in a beauty salon. She decided to leave and start her own business at home, using her dining room. She gives haircuts and perms. She dyes, colors, straightens, braids, and styles hair. Jackie's equipment included a hairdryer, mirrors, clips, rollers, scissors, and all the hair products necessary for maintaining a hairdressing business (8-88, field notes). Jackie's business is all cash and a sign in her apartments states, "Sorry, no credit." As the researcher and Jackie were entering her apartment, a customer stopped Jackie to make

an appointment. Jackie told her to call. Appointments are all noted on a calendar which hangs next to the phone in Jackie's apartment. Jackie's records show that she has a list of returning customers.

Figure 5.11

Jackie's Customer Record, 1984



PATRON SERVICE RECORD CARD

NAME Lolita — DATE 2-3-84

ADDRESS 41 Ct 12th St

CITY Long Island City STATE New York ZIP CODE 11101

TELEPHONE (Area Code) 729 2444

Average Drying Time

DATE	SERVICES RENDERED	OPERATOR	CHARGES	RESULTS	REMARKS (ANY SPECIAL STYLE PREFERENCE OR EQUIPMENT USED, ETC.)
2-84	Carefree Curl	Jackie	$50.00		
4-85	Carefree Curl	Jackie	50.00	Good	
3-85	Curl free Curl	Jackie	50.00	Good	
3-86	Carefree Curl	Jackie	50.00	Good	
4-86	Carefree	Jackie	50.00	Good	
4-86	Carefree	Jackie	50.00	Good	
9-87	Carefree	Jackie	50.00	Good	
11-87	Carfree	Jackie			
2-88	Carefree	Jackie	50.00	Good	

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Money from her business, along with her salary as a district guard, enable her to support her family without help from her husband. Jackie is successful as defined by work-related achievement, and material possessions.

Jackie D. is part of our mainstream American culture. She has had success in life, is part of a large resource network, uses literacy in purposeful, meaningful ways, and is a goal-oriented independent learner. She is attempting to achieve more for herself both personally and professionally, and assumed that school would help her to reach her goal. Professionally she needs that GED if she

is to maintain her job, or move to a new job--the Hudson Institute (1987) reports that by the year 2000, 75% of all jobs will require a high school diploma. Jackie also felt that the certification would be a measure of her abilities and self-worth.

Jackie turned to school to help in her quest to move up the ladder of the American dream, but school subtly and with seemingly good intentions turned her away. The program did not understand Jackie's abilities and most of all, the importance and immediacy of her goal. School focused on Jackie's deficits and did not create a sense of capability or self-worth for Jackie. School did not provide access to certification. Jackie wanted success, not the failure which is built into this system. She dropped out and sought help through her resource network.

CHAPTER VI

FINDINGS: PART THREE

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the participant Gerald M. The five factors--resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, use of literacy, success--are exemplified and analyzed at school, at home, and at work.

Gerald M. is a 38-year-old black male. He is the divorced father of three children and is presently living in the Bronx with a female companion. He works at the Red Lobster Restaurant in Yonkers, New York as a waiter/bar tender/kitchen helper.

Gerald M. was born on the Island of Tortola in the British West Indies. His mother was a teacher. He is one of 13 children and says he falls "somewhere in the middle" (tape 3, 11-88). He attended a British grade school governed by the rules and regulations of the British Government. Under this system, students at the age of 15 face comprehensive examinations which determine their academic future. In an interview Gerald (11-88, tape 3) states, "You see in those islands there after you get to a certain age--if you are not in a certain grade--after you

get to a certain class you have to take a special test. If you don't pass after you make 15--most people come from like big families and families where they are having it so hard--they get out of school and start working."

Gerald left school at the age of 15 and went to work to help support the family. At age 17 Gerald left Tortola for St. Thomas where he was sent by his father to help out his older sister. "My older sister she was married and living in St. Thomas and she was getting to build her own home--everybody there builds their own homes and she needed help so she called my father and said she needed help so he sent me" (11-88, tape 3).

Gerald remained in St. Thomas where he married and had three children now aged 13, 11, and 9 (1989). Between 1965 and 1985 he worked at various jobs including gas station attendant, messenger, taxi dispatcher, waiter, security guard, and as a self-employed entrepreneur (from Gerald's resume). His most steady employment was as a waiter at the Frenchman's Reef Hotel restaurant in St. Thomas where he was employed between 1973 and 1983. For the job at Frenchman's Reef he underwent a three-week training program sponsored by Holiday Inn, the owners of the hotel and restaurant. He says in an interview (5-89 telephone conversation) that this was a rigorous training program in which he learned how to serve properly (French-style--white

gloves) and how to prepare certain foods at the table for presentation to the customers. He was schooled in making Caesar salads, flambes, and any dish which required cooking and serving at the table. He says that by comparison, the Red Lobster is just a "fast-food place" (5-89 telephone conversation).

At the end of 1985 Gerald left his home and divorced his wife and came to New York where four of his sisters and two of his brothers live. He worked as a security guard at El Torito, and as a server at Roy Rogers before moving to the Red Lobster where he started as "a kitchen helper at the back of the house." He has also applied for a managerial position with the organization. Gerald tried to obtain a waiter's job in a hotel restaurant when he first came to New York but was told that he would need New York experience for at least one year in order to qualify.

He is presently living in the Bronx in a private house owned by his female companion. Her college-age son also lives with them. They met in St. Thomas. His companion is a college graduate who works as a supervisor at the Agency for Child Development--a city agency--in downtown Brooklyn. In an interview (5-89) Gerald says that she will be officially promoted to management supervisor in charge of all directors of day care centers in the New York area. He regards this as an important, good-paying job and states

that she has to travel to conferences twice a year in different parts of the country. He regards travel as an important aspect of her job and states that she recently attended a conference in California. She has had a profound influence on his life and was instrumental in getting him to enroll in the Teamsters' education program housed at IS 70, and to sign up for two civil service exams.

Although Gerald attends the Teamster education program housed at IS 70, he is not a union member. He was informed of the program by his companion's friend who works at the office of school safety and is a member of Local 237. In an interview Gerald states (11-88), "Well, there's a friend that I got--you know we was talking and everything. I explained what was the situation [no GED] and she said she could help. She works for the union." Gerald is interested in getting a better job with greater security and benefits than he presently has. "I'm getting to an age where I'm looking mostly for security" (11-88, tape 3). To Gerald, security is equated with pension and good health benefits. He feels at this time the money is less important than the benefits (11-88, tape 3). He feels he can always work a second job as a waiter if he needed the money. A union job represents a more secure position. The woman who told him of the union education program said she

could only help him with a union job if he gets his equivalency degree. Gerald is looking in a variety of places for a "job with security." He has taken and passed the civil service exam for railroad clerk with the Transit Authority with a score in the 70s. He is presently on the appointment list. He has applied for another civil service job with the post office and is awaiting notification for the test. He has also applied for a management position at the Red Lobster. All of these jobs will eventually require a diploma or its equivalent.

Gerald travels a great deal with his companion. They own a time share on the Island of St. Martin and have looked into buying another one in the Bahamas. In October 1988 Gerald described his trip to the Bahamas: "That was a trip--a gift my girlfriend won. She didn't really win it, it's a tour like a cheap vacation. They send you this thing saying you just won a trip--it's like a catch. This is when you buy the time shares" (10-88, tape 2). Of his time share in St. Martin, he describes the process for using it: "Last year I bought some time shares in St. Martin in a new place near Mullet Bay. You go two weeks. You have to let them know ahead of time. You can trade it off for another island. They got various places where you can trade it off. If you want to go to Hawaii you can trade off to someplace" (10-88, tape 2).

Gerald usually returns to visit his children at Christmastime in St. Thomas. He missed Christmas '88 and went instead for three weeks in April/May of 1989. He intends to take the children on a family reunion cruise in August of 1989 (5-89 telephone conversation). In August of 1988 his children spent a month with him in New York. His son has expressed a desire to come to New York and live with Gerald. Gerald is not sure if he wants him to come to New York, or if his ex-wife would let his son come to New York. He feels she's still bitter over the divorce. Gerald speaks to his kids every week. During his last visit to St. Thomas (May 1989) he ran into a friend who offered him a job and asked him to return. He said he was thinking about it but didn't think his companion would go because she has such a good job here (5-89 telephone conversation). He thought he might go back without her. However, his home was destroyed in the hurricane of September, 1989, which leaves him with no options in St. Thomas at present.

Gerald is very concerned with having a secure future and a good job. He knows that future is closely tied to having a high school equivalency diploma. In February of 1988 Gerald enrolled in the Teamster education program at IS 70 to study for his high school equivalency.

School--Gerald M.

This section describes Gerald's classes and teachers at IS 70. The five factors of resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success, are exemplified as they are manifested at school.

Gerald first enrolled at the Teamster Local 237 program housed at IS 70 in February, 1988. He was registered, interviewed, and tested on the Test of Adult Basic Education. His initial total grade equivalent score was 4.5. Gerald was placed in a basic education class designated level 1, the lowest level class, because there was room in the class and the staff felt he would get more attention from the teacher, to help raise his total grade level reading score. Gerald's stated purpose for entering the IS 70 program was to get his GED (interview, 1-89).

Gerald had sporadic attendance between February and June of 1988. Between jury duty and his work schedule, he attended only 12 classes.

The researcher observed him one time in May of 1988. He was working with a reading teacher. During the session the class worked silently on reading paragraphs and answering questions. The teacher explained that the purpose of this exercise was to participate in activities similar to the TABE in order to raise reading scores.

Figure 6.1

Gerald's Reading Work

In June, 1988, after 12 sessions at IS 70, Gerald signed up to take the GED exam, with the help of one of the administrators at IS 70. Although his teacher did not encourage him to take the test, Gerald felt that he wanted to try. He had been working on his own at home with his female companion in much the same way he had studied for the Railroad Clerk exam. He wanted to take the GED. By

August of 1988, Gerald was informed that he had failed the exam. He spoke of the failure with the researcher (8-88) when she visited the Red Lobster. Gerald said that he had done well on the math part which he felt is his strength. He felt the same way about the Railroad Clerk exam, which he said was mostly math. He said his problem was his timing. He doesn't always finish a test. He said that this was true of the TABE as well as the GED.

The researcher noted on a visit to Gerald's class in November of 1988 that Gerald is very slow and deliberate about reading and re-reading the paragraph and the questions before he selects an answer (field notes, 11-88). He selects the correct answer, but it takes him a while to make the choice. Gerald seems to need confidence in his abilities, as well as to learn to pace himself (field notes, 11-88).

In October of 1988 Gerald returned to class. He was tested again on 10-17-88 and scored a grade total of 4.4. This time he was placed in a Basic Education level 2 class. The class met twice weekly for 3 hours per session. Two teachers rotated into the class. Between 5:30 and 6:45 the students had reading. At 7 the math teacher arrived.

Gerald again had a poor attendance pattern. Between October and December he attended six sessions and was marked absent for seven sessions. The researcher observed

Gerald in class for four of the six sessions and on two separate occasions interviewed the reading teacher and the administrative staff. Gerald missed four appointments with the researcher--because of sickness, work, or car trouble.

Gerald was observed in class on 10-24-88. The class activities for the evening were listed on the board by the reading teacher under the heading "To Do": (a) pre-GED reading, (b) spelling test, (c) timed reading, (d) math, BREAK, (e) vocabulary. It was the purpose of this reading class to have students engage in activities which are similar to the TABE in order to raise the reading score. Some activities are similar to the reading passages on the GED. However, the passages are not the same level of difficulty as the GED passages. It was the purpose of the math class to engage in activities which are similar to but not as difficult as the tested math portion of the GED. During the reading session students worked silently, moving from one activity to the next. The teacher moved around the room working with one student at a time. If there was any talking the teacher would quiet the class with comments such as, "People, you are socializing on my time" (10-88, tape 1). As she moved from student to student, the teacher would interrupt to remind the class of "essays due," or to quiet the "noise." When she finished moving about the class, the teacher moved on to the next activity--in this

case the spelling test--regardless of what the students were up to. Gerald continued to work in his reading book regardless of what the teacher was doing. He stopped his workbook activities to take the spelling test.

On November 16th the class was observed again. On this occasion Gerald and the researcher met before class because of the reading teacher's complaint to the administrator at IS 70 that Gerald and the researcher were talking (10-88, field notes). The teacher also felt that the researcher's presence was disruptive to Gerald's learning and she could not be responsible for what was missed. This was all explained to Gerald but he felt (11-88, tape 4) that the teacher understood what we were doing together. The lesson for the day on November 16, 1988, written on the board under the "To Do," included (a) everyday English and correcting, (b) Spelling Post test, (c) timed reading, (d) math, BREAK, (e) vocabulary, (f) geography, (g) literature. The teacher again worked with individual students while the rest of the class silently worked on the everyday English assignment, which consisted of locating action verbs. When the teacher came over to Gerald she asked him to read one sentence at a time while she helped him locate the subject and the verb in each sentence. Gerald "caught on," according to the reading teacher's comment to him (11-16, field notes). The teacher

explained that this was the lesson he had previously missed. She further stated that he was doing very well because he learned very quickly what the rest of the class had spent an hour on (11-16, field notes). Each observed class session had the students working silently while the teacher moved about the room going over the assignments with each student individually. The class was totally teacher directed and focused on discrete learning activities.

The reading teacher, in an interview (10-31), described Gerald as being very low: "I have never worked with anyone as low as Gerald. . . . He's really not up to the others in the class." When the researcher suggested that she had heard him read and that he had an understanding of the material, the teacher replied, "Maybe you can find out what's blocking him." In that same interview, the researcher also told the teacher about Gerald's resume and the teacher expressed doubt that he could read it. In a second interview the teacher said that she felt her class was "too difficult for Gerald and he's not up to the struggle." When the researcher told her he got 179 on his first attempt at the GED, she was surprised. The teacher pointed to Gerald's raw score of 20 on the TABE comprehension section (roughly a 4th grade equivalent) and said, "This is what I'm interested in" (12-16, interview).

She saw her role as helping Gerald to raise his level of comprehension and she didn't want to take responsibility for the way he scored on tests or how much he learned because "he is never in school. . . . As far as I'm concerned he doesn't exist in my class. I've hardly seen him" (12-16, interview). On January 9th she asserted to the researcher, "After you finish with him I'm dropping him--you tell me. It doesn't pay to have him in the class" (1-89, interview). The staff administrator at IS 70, who introduced Gerald to the researcher, described Gerald in an interview as one "who seems to be above it all--very intelligent, like he doesn't need us" (12-88, interview).

By January 1989 Gerald had effectively dropped out of classes. He had arranged his work schedule so that he would be available on Monday and Wednesday nights--the nights his class met. Yet he claims for the most part that it is work--overtime--which keeps him out of school. In a taped interview in November Gerald explained the situation he generally finds himself in at work where he is known as one who you can depend upon: "I planned on Monday but on Monday morning about 8 o'clock I get a call. It was the manager on the job tell me the guy who worked on Sunday said he wasn't coming in--he needed a substitute to come in and to open up the bar for him. So I said okay, but I got to go to school this afternoon. I like to get out about 4

o'clock. He tell me--okay, no problem, 4 o'clock come, three people call up from the dining room, two from the kitchen. I worked from 10 until 10:30" (11-88, tape 4).

Gerald says that he plans to take the GED exam again on his own. He stated in an interview (1-89 field notes) that he continues to work on GED questions at home with his girlfriend in preparation for the exam which he will take when he returns from his upcoming trip to St. Thomas. Gerald's girlfriend structures activities which are similar to the activities engaged in by Gerald in school.

Gerald took the exam again in June, 1989, and failed. He had not attended class since January, 1989 but states that he practiced at home with his girlfriend, using GED preparation materials. He also studied at home for the Railroad Clerk exam which he passed. He states that he will study for the Postal Clerk exam at home also. Gerald M. and his girlfriend use civil service preparation books to study for these exams.

Gerald's reading teacher viewed him as being "very low" in ability. She based this judgment on his scores, in particular, his comprehension score. Her goal was to raise this score by having Gerald engage in activities similar to the TABE. The curriculum was geared to the test and totally driven by the teacher. Although the reading teacher knew Gerald wanted his GED, she felt he was

incapable because of his low abilities. She saw Gerald as an absentee and one who would make her look like a failure because his reading score couldn't improve if he were absent so much. The administrator who had seen Gerald at work, and had spoken with him at length, had confidence in his abilities. His teacher knew nothing of his life beyond the classroom. Although she understood his goal, she felt he could not successfully attain it.

Gerald dropped out of class and did not maintain his connection with the program, the union personnel or the researcher. They never integrated into his resource network and were not viewed as helping him to reach his employment and/or certification goals. He did, however, continue to study on his own and pursue his goals with his companion and the resource network which he hopes will enable him to reach his goals of employment and certification.

Home and Work--Gerald M.

The five factors of resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/independence, uses of literacy, and success, are exemplified as they are manifested at home and work.

Gerald lives a mainstream cosmopolitan life, He works, is comfortable with a print society, has a driver's

license, interacts with college-educated adults and is comfortable with technology.

Gerald is part of a large resource network which includes his friends, people he works with, the administrative staff at the union program, the researcher, and most importantly, his female companion. Gerald reports that he is well-liked on the job because he can be relied upon in emergencies and is always willing to pitch in and help out. He has been encouraged by co-workers to apply for a management position--and has their support and recommendations. "Some of the managers that we got figure like I got the experience and everything so they told me go ahead, they would recommend me." When asked if he would need a diploma for this job, Gerald replied, "One guy said he would explain the situation [that he was presently enrolled in a class]" (10-88, tape 2). During a visit by the researcher to the Red Lobster restaurant, Gerald brought the manager over to the table to introduce him, to talk about the research project and to let the manager know that this was all connected to his enrollment in a GED program (8-88, field notes). Gerald feels extremely comfortable on his job because it's a field he knows and because "mostly it's the work I been doing all my life" (10-88, tape 2). He feels that the restaurant personnel "would hate that I leave. I'm the one who they can depend

on" (10-88, tape 2). Gerald was accompanied on his most recent trip to St. Thomas (May 1989) by one of his colleagues from work.

He is supported in his efforts to look for a job with greater security by a friend who provided entry into the Teamster education program. This friend works for the union and said, as Gerald reports, "Look, I may be able to get you a job with the union but you have to have at least your GED" (10-88, tape 2). It was this friend who works with the office of School Safety who sent Gerald to the program. She had been notified that the Teamsters were offering GED classes to school district guards and she was able to use her influence to get Gerald enrolled in the program. It was this same friend who accompanied Gerald to the union party given for students enrolled in the program in June of 1988. This was one way of introducing Gerald into the union and the possibility of a job.

Gerald's live-in female companion has been the backbone of his support system. She helps him to prepare for the GED exam by working with him at home on practice exams and in GED books. She has also developed a variety of skill activities for him to work on. She does vocabulary exercises with him by writing words in his notebook which he has to look up in the dictionary. She works on GED type activities with him, to help prepare him

for the test. He explains these activities in an interview: "Me and my girlfriend, she sits down with me and the dictionary and what we do is come up with the answers and the meaning of certain words" (11-88, tape 3). During an interview Gerald asserts, "Me and my lady have been working on this together at home [the GED test]" (3-89). Gerald and his companion are both aware that if he is to get a job with greater benefits that he must pass the test and have the credentials. In a telephone conversation (11-89), she describes him as knowing "everything about sports, politics and history, but he must improve his vocabulary and learn to talk 'Yankee', not island." She wants him to improve himself and is willing to help him study, find a job, and fill out applications. He works with her, although she reports having trouble getting him to study.

Gerald's companion also wrote and typed up his resume for him which he has circulated at the Red Lobster restaurant (see appendix D). In an interview Gerald explains how his resume was developed: "Well, we sit down and I explain to her what I did and she wrote it down." Gerald and the researcher read and talked about his resume and he described each of his jobs. His companion has also been responsible for apprising Gerald of the civil service titles and exams which are available. Through her job at

the Agency for Child Development she has access to information on all city civil service jobs. She gets him the applications. Before he moved to New York from St. Thomas, she obtained the application for the Transit Authority Railroad Clerk position for him: "Right before I decided to move here like the lady I live with right now, I used to talk to her and she had get the form for me [Railroad Clerk] and she had put my name in and she--it never did come--and this is like four years and the test just come out now" (10-88, tape 2). Gerald passed the exam and is on the waiting list for placement. He has also, with the help of his girlfriend, applied for the postal exam which is also a civil service title.

Gerald's companion has introduced him to her network of friends. It is through these associations and his networks at work that he has enrolled in class, continues to study at home, and continues his job search. Gerald M. is part of a large social network which operates as a factor in his life. This network provides him with support and offers access to information and literacy events. Gerald's network includes friends at work, personal friends, and his companion.

Gerald has the ability to articulate his goals and has a clear future focus. He wants a job which will give him the security he needs at this point in his life. He wants

the benefits of health insurance, pension, and the job security that comes along with a civil service or union job. He wants to elevate his status--in his own eyes and in his circle of friends. He understands that any new job will require a GED and he continues to pursue this goal. To this end he has been very much influenced by his companion and her social network. In Gerald's words, "It's not really the money--it's like the benefits and different stuff" (11-88, tape 2).

Gerald is a self-directed/independent man. He has worked at a variety of jobs, always earning a living to support a wife and three children. He left St. Thomas, came to New York, and immediately found employment. He has assumed the responsibility for applying for and taking civil service examinations. He has also applied for a management position in the Red Lobster organization.

Gerald uses literacy in a variety of ways in the course of his daily activities. As a waiter at the Red Lobster restaurant he must be familiar with and have the ability to read the menu (see appendix E), and write down orders on a form which is given to a cashier to ring up. On a visit to the Red Lobster where Gerald waited on the researcher's table, he was asked about the menu. Gerald pointed to several items on the menu and read aloud, "The ultimate feast, the shrimp feast" (8-88, field notes). He

wrote down the orders from all the tables he was serving. He served all tables including beverages, referring to his checks (see appendix F). He had to sort through all the checks in his book to give the correct copy to the table when it came time to pay the bill (8-88, field notes). He is also a bartender and is required to mix a variety of drinks including some exotic tropical mixes for the customers.

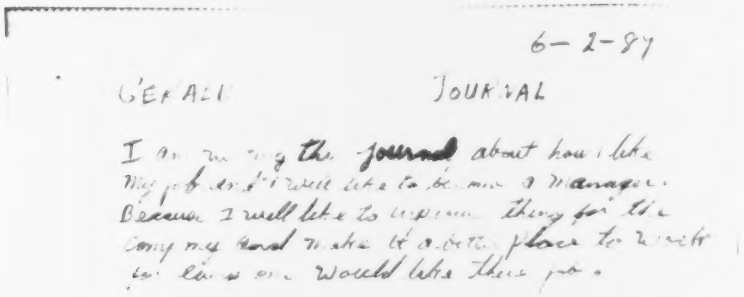
Gerald is also a gambler and likes to play blackjack. the horses, and lotto. Gerald plays blackjack in Atlantic City. He feels he's good at blackjack because he's good at math. This is also the reason he felt he did well on the Railroad Clerk exam--because there was a lot of math on it (11-88, tape 3). Gerald explains his system for selecting horses when he goes to the tracks. He never goes to the trotters which he feels are fixed. "You pick horses by studying the race form which lists performances and workout times" (11-88, tape 3). Gerald tells of a racing story he read about in his newspaper which he "gets every day" (11-88, tape 3). The story he tells is about "four or five jockeys that got together with outside people. They had it set up. And how they found out--right before the race--about two minutes a lot of money was bet. And it was a triple race and it collect $65,000" (11-88, tape 3).

Gerald is also an avid baseball fan. After ascertaining Gerald's interest in both baseball and gambling, the researcher gave him Eight Men Out which is about a baseball gambling scandal. In an interview (2-89 conversation), he states that he has not finished the book. However, he was able to summarize the story as far as he had read.

At the request of the researcher, Gerald began a journal in November of 1988. Gerald was initially enthusiastic about writing in his journal. He called the researcher at work in November of 1988 to find out what was right in terms of journal entries. The researcher explained that there was no right or wrong entry. He could use the journal in many different ways for a variety of purposes. He said he wanted to write about work and the researcher agreed that was a good use of his journal.

Figure 6.2

Gerald's Journal Entry--Work



6-2-89

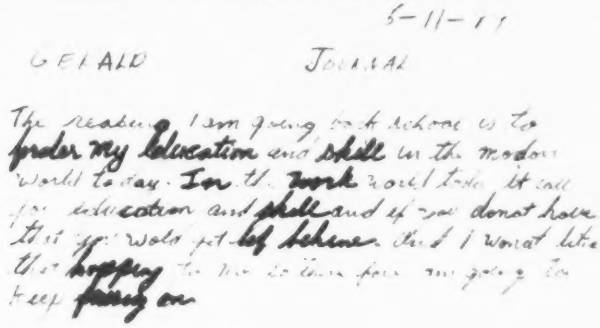
GERALD JOURNAL

I am writing the journal about how I like my job and I will like to become a Manager. Because I will like to improve things for the Company and make it a better place to work for. Like some would like there pay.

Whether or not Gerald kept an actual journal is unclear. He says he did but he gave the researcher a difficult time in handing over his entire journal. He did, however, give the researcher two entries, dated 5-11-89 and 6-2-89.

Figure 6.3

Gerald's Journal Entry--School


5-11-89

GERALD JOURNAL

The reason I am going back to school is to further my Education and Skills in the modern world today. In the work world today it call for education and skills and if you don't have that you will get left behind. that I won't let that happen to me so I am going to keep going on

It is unclear as to whether he wrote these two entries to satisfy the researcher or whether he copied them out of his journal to give them to the researcher. He maintains that he kept the journal; the researcher has her doubts. The two entries included in the study revolve around school and work.

Gerald was also able to pass a written Civil Service exam for Railroad Clerk. The civil service exam is a 3-hour test consisting of 100 short answers. Candidates who pass this test must be able to read schedules, solve mathematical problems, read notes and paragraphs and answer questions. They must also have knowledge of New York City and the subway system. Some questions require information

not contained in the text. The test is similar to activities on the TABE and GED. However, the timing is different. The Railroad Clerk test gives participants three hours. Gerald stated that his problem on both the TABE and GED was his timing. A copy of a similar test is attached (see appendix C). This is an exam taken from the type of book Gerald used when studying and preparing for this exam. Gerald engages in many uses of literacy. Reading and writing activities for Gerald have a specific function, meaning or purpose and are unlike school literacy activities.

Gerald owns many of the material goods which are valued in our culture as a measure of achievement and success. He owns a car and drives to and from work and school. He lives in a private house in the Van Cortlandt section of the Bronx. He owns the time share in St. Martin and is considering trading off his two weeks for a trip somewhere else--perhaps Hawaii. Several of his companion's friends also bought shares--"two of her girlfriends--one bought at the place we bought at, and her other girlfriend bought at Pelican" (10-88, tape 2). He is also considering a second purchase in the Bahamas. He is planning his family reunion aboard a Caribbean cruise ship in August. He has also visited many of the Caribbean islands--usually at Carnival or when some event is going on (11-88, tape 3).

Gerald is comfortable with the modern technology of his VCR, his telephone answering machine, and the call-waiting system he has as part of his phone service.

Gerald earns what he considers a good salary. He is resourceful and has worked at a number of jobs. He considers himself well versed in the restaurant business which he views as an important skill because he can always make money as a waiter or in some aspect of the restaurant business. Success as measured by material possessions and work related achievement is a factor in Gerald's life.

Gerald M. is part of our mainstream American culture. He is part of a large resource network which offers access to information and literacy events. He functions in a print society, is successful, owns property and material goods, is self-directed, independent and goal oriented.

He came to school hoping to find two things. One was a connection to the union which might mean a better job, and the second was access to certification classes. He got neither. The program didn't serve Gerald. He said in an interview (6-89), "You really don't need school if you can study on your own." Gerald turned to his resources, his companion and her union friends, to enable him to study and to find a job.

CHAPTER VII

GENERATED HYPOTHESES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter presents five hypotheses and recommendations for further study, thereby contributing to theory building about adult education students. Recommendations for teaching and learning in the area of adult basic education are also presented.

This observational case study analyzed two adult education students in school, at home, and at work. Five factors were identified as operant in the lives of these adults and were exemplified as they are manifested at school, home, and work. These factors are resource networks, goal orientation/motivation, self-direction/ independence, uses of literacy, and success.

The adult basic education program described in this study used standardized tests to make judgments about the adult participants and as exclusionary devices. The judgments affected the literacy curriculum and the goals and motivation of these adults who were denied access to certification programs, and the judgments affected their ability to succeed in school.

The adults were described as successful, goal-oriented, self-directed individuals who participate in a print society, and who use resource networks to enable them to achieve goals. The adult education program underestimated and misunderstood these adults and limited their access to knowledge, mobility, and power.

The major findings in this study are five hypotheses about working adult students who enter education programs through their union, namely:

1. It is hypothesized that resource networks support efforts of adult basic education students to engage in a wide range of literacy events and provide access to goal achievement and information. Programs which become part of these networks will have greater success rates.

2. It is hypothesized that working adults entering basic education programs are goal-oriented and motivated. Programs using standardized tests as gatekeeping devices limit access to goal achievement. Programs can improve success rates and instruction by focusing on the goal and eliminating the tests as gatekeeping devices.

3. It is hypothesized that working adults entering basic education programs are self-directed and independent. Programs can improve instruction by focusing on student-centered activities.

4. It is hypothesized that adult school literacy activities are unrelated to the lives of adults outside of school. Schools can improve instruction by integration of these activities into the curriculum.

5. It is hypothesized that adult basic education students who are working have had job-related success. They seek education programs in which they can achieve further success. Programs can improve instruction by understanding and building on previous success.

In the following section, these five hypotheses are discussed.

Hypothesis 1

It is hypothesized that resource networks support efforts of adult basic education students to engage in a wide range of literacy events, and provide access to goal achievement and information. Programs which become part of these networks will have greater success rates.

Fingeret (1983) states that adults characterized as illiterate by the larger society create social networks that are "characterized by reciprocal exchange" (p. 134). These networks provide security and support through primary, consistent face-to-face interaction. She further states that educators have to realize that existing social groups are of primary importance in the lives of these

adults and that "program models must expand to embrace illiterate adults as individuals in networks" (p. 144).

For both Jackie and Gerald, the people who were viewed as resources became the link to goal achievement. These were the people who exerted positive influences over their lives and assumed they were capable, goal-oriented individuals. These people understood the context of their lives. For Gerald, it is his companion and his friends who will lead him into greater job opportunities, and perhaps through the certification process. For Jackie, it is the union structure and the researcher who will empower her and move her toward her goals. Programs which take the time to understand the individual can empower the individual by encouraging engagement in a variety of meaningful activities which are goal-oriented. Such programs will be seen as resources and will become part of an individual's network. Jackie and Gerald should be able to turn to the school in much the same way that they turn to the union structure and friends.

Hypothesis 2

It is hypothesized that working adults entering basic education programs are goal-oriented and motivated. Programs using standardized tests as gatekeeping devices limit access to goal achievement. Programs can improve

success rates and instruction by focusing on the goal and eliminating the tests as gatekeepers.

According to Boshier (1971), "the nature of the individual learner and his reasons for participation is an important starting point for any research on adult education" (p. 3). He further states that such an understanding would facilitate the growth of theory and models to explain participation, and "throw light on the conceptual desert that underpins adult education dropout research and enhance efforts to increase the quantity and quality of learning experiences for adults" (p. 3). Houle (1961), Tough (1968), Boshier (1971), Burgess (1971), and Morstain and Smart (1974) have, through interviews and the development of motivational scales, determined that the desire to reach a stated goal is one reason adults participate in education programs. In the seminal study, "The Inquiring Mind," Houle identifies three classes of adult learners. Goal oriented learners, according to Houle (1961) use learning to gain specific objectives. Among the patterns identified by Tough (1968) of adults who start learning projects is awareness of goal. Motivational Scales developed by Boshier (1971) and Burgess (1971) yield clusters of factors which describe adult reasons for participation in educational programs. Burgess (1971) identifies seven factors, among which is the desire to

reach a personal goal. Similarly, Morstain and Smart (1974) found six factors which describe reasons for participation in adult education programs. They list professional advancement as a factor which is linked to goals.

A clearly stated goal orientation characterized both adults in this study. At the first meeting with the researcher, Jackie D. stated her goal. She knew she enrolled in class to get her GED, which would maintain her job and verify her self-worth. She continues to work toward that goal even though she is not in school. Gerald M. entered school with the same goal orientation. He was there to get his GED in order to get a better job, improve his status, and perhaps make union contacts. He has dropped out of school but continues to work toward his goal. Both dropped out of a program which was inconsistent with their immediate goals. Both were placed in remedial classes designed to raise the tested reading score, and the goal was deferred. Darkenwald and Scanlan (1984) found that among the factors listed as deterrents to participation by adults in education courses was lack of course relevance. It is hypothesized that placing these students in a classroom which focuses on GED instruction would result in higher retention.

Hypothesis 3

It is hypothesized that adults entering basic education programs are self-directed and independent. Programs can improve instruction by focusing on student-centered activities.

Tough (1979), Leean and Sisco (1981), Hiemstra (1976), Mezirow (1981), and Brookfield (1984) have documented the propensity and capacity of adults to engage in self-directed independent learning projects. Brookfield (1984) states:

> by almost any measure conceivable, research into self-directed adult learning must constitute the chief growth area in the field of adult education research in the last decade. (p. 59)

According to Brockett (1983), self-directed learning refers to activities where "primary responsibility for planning, carrying out, and evaluating a learning endeavor is assumed by the individual learner" (p. 16). He further states that the "self-directed learner understands what he or she wants to learn and how to go about learning it."

Gibbons et al. (1980) found that predominant characteristics of self-directed learners include industriousness, perseverance, self-discipline, curiosity, creativity, non-conformity, and ambition. Self-directed learners perceive a goal and pursue that goal, as Brockett (1983) suggests, perhaps relying "more on their own

personally-developed learning strategies" (p. 18). He further suggests (1983) that if schooling can reinforce conformity and consequently stifle creativity, self-directed learning might be seen as antithetical to schooling (p. 18).

The seminal study of Tough (1979) found that 90% of adults conduct at least one learning project per year lasting 100 hours on the average, mostly outside of the school setting; 70% of their projects are self-planned; and less than one percent of these projects are for credit.

Two outstanding documented and conflicting statistics in adult education point to the fact that 90% of adults engage in self-directed learning projects, mostly outside of school, while 70% enter school to learn and drop out. It seems contradictory that 90% of these adults learn outside of school and 70% fail inside school. One must ask why. Outside school the planning of subject matter and the assumption of ability are the responsibility of the adult, while inside school the planning of subject matter and assumption of deficiency are the province of the teacher and program. It is hypothesized that if adults are given more responsibility for their own learning inside school, they will be more successful at attaining their goal.

Hypothesis 4

It is hypothesized that adult school literacy activities are unrelated to the lives of adults outside school. Schools can improve instruction by integration of these activities into the curriculum.

It is clear from the analysis of both Gerald M. and Jackie D. that they engage in a variety of literacy activities at work and at home. Heath (1980) has shown that "learners frequently possess and display in out-of-school contexts skills relevant to using literacy which are not exploited in school learning environments" (p. 132). Literacy for both adults is purposeful, meaningful, context-specific, and unlike school literacy activities. When we test students and teach to that test, we ignore the context in which they utilize literacy and instead, focus on deficits. Understanding how Jackie and Gerald use literacy requires understanding of the contexts in which this literacy is used. Heath (1984) states that perhaps we ignore contexts and focus on skills to guarantee gatekeeping. Perhaps it is expedient for programs to mass market teaching rather than to spend the time understanding the individual and creating materials and teaching strategies which meet the needs of the students. Fingeret (1984) points out that Adult Basic Education programs which form the largest group of providers of literacy instruction

in the United States focus primarily on the teaching of reading skills. Other uses of literacy are ignored. If we continue to define literacy as performance on a discrete set of skills rather than as an empowering set of behaviors, we continue to limit access for the poor and minority population to events which will provide entrance into what Smith (1987) terms the literacy club. This view is consistent with Heath (1984), Harman (1987), Levine (1982), Freire (1983), and Ilich (1971). Heath (1984) states that "access to all but the most menial of jobs now demands far more than literacy skills; upward socioeconomic movement depends upon being literate and being a citizen who behaves and thinks as literates should" (p. 2). If the sole purpose of schools is to raise reading scores to a level where students are allowed access to certification programs, we will continue to have a 70% dropout rate in these programs, and we will continue to have adults who are denied the privilege of the reading and writing abilities of those in the literacy club.

Hypothesis 5

It is hypothesized that adult education students who are working and who return to school have had job-related success. They seek education programs in which they can

achieve further success. Programs can improve instruction by understanding and building on previous success.

This study indicates that the adult basic education program undervalued the prior successful experiences and resources that the adults brought to the learning situation and, therefore, limited access to mobility, knowledge and power.

The fact that both these students were successful at other certification tests and at their jobs was overlooked. Jackie D. passed three separate tests in cosmetology. Two were at Wilfred Academy and one was for her temporary state license. She is highly skilled as a hairdresser, and has a lucrative business. However, she still must pass the permanent state license exam. This would have been a good starting point for reading and writing activities with Jackie. Gerald M. studied for and passed the Railroad Clerk exam with the help of his girlfriend. He wants to take the Postal exam. This might have been a good starting place in his education. He also knows a great deal about the restaurant business, has worked a variety of jobs, and wants to continue in the field. This is another good starting point for an education program.

Both participants are successfully working and supporting families, and have bought into the American dream of ownership of material goods. All are good places

to start an education program. All of this was irrelevant to the adult education program which neglected the student as an individual who came to school with a wealth of information, knowledge, and ability. Prior successes and abilities were ignored by a system which focused on deficiencies and ignored successes.

An approach to literacy education which does not recognize success, excluded Jackie D. and Gerald M. from greater job opportunities and social mobility. It excluded them from engaging in meaningful purposeful reading and writing activities which might create fuller lives. This approach serves to disempower adults and the school becomes what Rosow (1989) refers to as a "disempowering significant other" (p. 199). This is especially disappointing in a union-sponsored program which is associated with jobs and job success. Jackie D. looks to her union as a resource. Gerald M. thought a union-sponsored program could be a resource. Unions in particular understand the work lives and needs of these individuals. They are in a unique position to make all of the programs relevant.

Recommendations for Teaching and Learning

Based on the major findings of this study, the researcher proposes and explains six recommendations for teaching and learning.

1. Courses should be offered to adults returning to education programs, not remedial classes.

The two participants in this study enrolled in the adult basic education program with the specific purpose of obtaining the GED. Upon entry, they were tested on the Test of Adult Basic Education and placed in remedial classes designed to raise their tested reading level. These classes became a prerequisite to entry into GED classes and focused on basic skills instruction. Both students dropped out of the program before entering a GED class or obtaining a GED.

Adult Basic Education programs must begin to re-think the way in which students are placed in class and the concept of "remediation": the focus should be on offering courses to students based on interest, rather than mandating remedial classes that serve as pre-entry into courses of interest. Adult education programs should be viewed as continuing education for adults who choose to re-enter school for a specific purpose. These adults are registering for a course in a particular area of interest whether it be to get certification or learn a specific job. They have made the decision to return to school for a purpose. Language and reading activities can be built into a course which focuses on the purpose. Remedial classes

labeled adult basic education assume deficits and defer the goal until students are viewed as ready to enter the course. Adult basic education results in a high drop-out rate, poor success rates, and maintenance of the "literacy crisis." It is a concept which fails our adult population.

2. Alternative assessments which inform instruction in these courses must be developed.

The TABE test is not only used to measure tested reading levels, it is also used to inform instruction. Teachers observed in this study used materials similar to the TABE for instructional purposes. These materials were designed to give students practice on activities which would raise tested scores. The students were learning how to do well on the TABE which was the course goal. The TABE became the universe of what was taught. Reading and writing activities which might prove more interesting and meaningful were not used. These students engaged in corrective teaching and were never introduced to the possibilities and beauty of the written word.

Several things must change. First, the goals of the course should be centered on student interest. The way in which student knowledge is assessed must also change.

Alternative assessments must be created which inform instruction in these courses. Educators want to know how much students know about the body of information which makes up the course. Assessments can guide the teacher and the student to set goals. Writing samples, appropriate reading material, oral language ability, all inform instruction in a course and can be administered within the classroom. This gives the instructor the opportunity to build on an individual's knowledge and interests.

3. The gates must be lifted in situations where standardized tests are used. Test scores should be used for bookkeeping, not gatekeeping.

Educators understand the limitations of standardized testing, and yet they continue to be used as gate-keepers and as the universe of what is taught. We know the limitations and we talk about the limitations at conferences and workshops. We have begun to develop alternative assessments and programs. On a macro level, adult educators must develop networks which lobby for change. Policy makers need to understand from a united voice how we maintain the literacy crisis in America by adhering to policies which deny access to millions of Americans. More research and documentation about what works in adult

education must be encouraged, publicized and shared. Funders need to be made aware of alternatives. Collective pressure must be applied for change to occur.

On a micro level, dealing with the here and now, individual programs forced by funding sources to use standardized tests must re-think the nature of the tests. Programs have control over the way in which tests are used. They do not have to inform instruction or become the curriculum. Individual programs can develop policies for administration of tests, importance of scores, and use of scores. It is up to individual programs to educate the teaching staff as to the limitations of standardized testing, and to create program goals which have little or nothing to do with raising reading levels. Teachers must understand that they are not being judged by growth on reading test scores. Where tests are given, they should not be used as exclusionary devices but rather, as a matter of bookkeeping. It is harmless to record a score. It is a tragedy to use that score to exclude.

4. Intake and registration procedures should include information on the student's background and purpose for enrollment.

Time should be set aside for intake and registration which gives the staff an opportunity to understand the student. Family background, educational history, leisure activities, employment history, and specific reasons for enrollment are information each teacher should have. All staff should be involved in intake and placement. Such procedures involve time, and mean re-thinking the 180 hours that students are expected to be in class during the course of 1 year. This may prove to be time well spent if students remain in school.

5. Literacy must be understood in the context of the learner's experiences and goals.

Courses have to incorporate real reading and writing activities which are appropriate to the goal and the learners' experiences. If a certification test is involved, teachers must also focus on the appropriate test-taking skills students will need. This involves re-thinking of the 3-hour segments of time that teachers have with students, and it involves a great deal of planning and searching for materials which do not appear in standard texts. It involves using many texts and many different materials as resources. This is where administrative staff can play a helpful role to the over-burdened teacher.

Administrators can be resources for teachers, as teachers can be resources for students.

6. Staff training must be conducted to enable teachers to understand the theory and practice which inform these changes.

Teachers must be involved in training and follow-up to support programmatic changes. This training and support must be ongoing. Traditionally, adult education has had difficulty in delivering training programs to teachers who are largely part-time employees. However, there are ways in which programs can develop training and follow-up for teachers, given the limitations:

A. Training should be done on a micro rather than macro level. Not all teachers need attend all sessions. Training should be done in small groups at different locations convenient for teachers.

B. Classroom follow-up to training sessions should be implemented. The workshop should go to the teacher.

C. Teachers should work in pairs, covering for one another during training session attendance, and collaborating on practice.

D. Limited staff training money should be used to pay teachers to attend conferences run by program

teachers, and those sponsored by outside organizations.

Teachers are ultimately responsible for implementing change and must be supported in their efforts to do so.

Recommendations for Research

Suggestions for future research are presented in this section. The recommendations stem from the findings of this study and the research design implemented to obtain the findings.

This study generated five hypotheses which should be tested in different contexts in order to add to a more comprehensive theory of adult education. Adults enrolled in work-specific classes, non-working adults attending education classes, adults similar in background to the participants in this study, and adults involved in continuing education courses--all are possibilities for future research. Are the factors appropriate in other situations? Are other factors present which would add to the theory?

Research stemming from the recommendations for teaching and learning is also suggested.

o What occurs among adult students who are placed in goal-oriented classes? The Consortium for worker education

is piloting a program in which students are placed in classes according to purpose. What is the retention rate? What uses of literacy are displayed? What expectations and goals do students bring to class? Are they met? Changed?

o If standardized tests are not used as measures of growth and change, how can we evaluate and assess adult students? What alternatives are available?

o What is the adult learning experience in classrooms in which literacy education is understood in the context of the learners' experiences?

o Can adults assume responsibility for their learning?

o What intake and placement procedures are used in education programs? What impact, if any, does this have on adult students?

The participants in this study represent only two of the millions of adults enrolled in literacy programs. There is a tendency to think of these adults as part of an illiterate epidemic sweeping America. The question of the literacy of these adults must revolve around an understanding of which literacy, for what, and whose literacy are we talking about. Sledd (1988), who has declared that the literacy crisis in America is a hoax, states that "any literacy presupposes people with certain knowledge, passions and skill" (p. 499). Future research must focus

on the passion, knowledge and skill as a start toward elimination of the notion of this "disease" that sweeps America.

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APPENDIX A

RESEARCHER'S LETTER TO GERALD M.

Jan 18 1989

Dear Gerald

I am writing to you in the hope that we can continue to work together on my research project.

It has been difficult trying to connect by phone or in class. So I decided to write. I realize that between work and family obligations you do not always have time for this research project. However, I have worked on it for five years and it is almost finished. What I need to complete the process is just a little more of your time. You have given unselfishly to a stranger and I want you to know I appreciate your support.

I hate to keep pestering you at home and I do not want you to feel that I am pressuring you to return to school. What I need is just a little more time to finish my final interviews.

We can arrange to meet at school, at the theaters, at work or anyplace that is convenient for you.

I am almost there, but I need your help to finish.

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you can write to me at the Teamsters
or you can call at 607-0550 ext 4753
at home (348-4753)
I will follow this letter with a call
next week
I appreciate your kindness and hope
that you will be able to continue

Sincerely yours
Vlad Green

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TRANSCRIPT OF PAGES 193-194

January 18, 1989

Dear Gerald,

I am writing to you in the hope that we can continue to work together on my research project.

It has been difficult trying to connect by phone or in class, so I decided to write. I realize that between work and family obligations you do not always have time for this research project. However, I have worked on it for five years and it is almost finished. What I need to complete the process is just a little more of your time. You have given unselfishly to a stranger and I want you to know I appreciate your input.

I hate to keep pestering you at home and I don't want you to feel that I am pressuring you to return to school. What I need is just a little more time to finish my final interviews.

We can arrange to meet at school, at the Teamsters, at work or anyplace that is convenient for you.

I am almost there, but I need your help to finish.

You can write to me at the Teamsters or you can call me at 807-0550 or at home (348-4753).

I will follow this letter with a call next week.

I appreciate your kindness and hope that you will be able to continue.

Sincerely yours,
Fran Boren

APPENDIX B

CONSORTIUM FOR WORKER EDUCATION:

GED DOCUMENTATION

Consortium For Worker Education

216 West 14 Street New York, NY 10011 · 212/807·0550

ACTWU
AFSCME, D.C. 1707
CWA, Local 1180
IBT, JC 16
ILGWU
ITP
Local 1199, Health Care
SEIU, Local 144
UAW, District 65
UAW, Local 259

July 20, 1989

Mr. Ken Ormiston
Division of Educational Testing
NYS Education Department
Albany, NY 11234

Dear Mr. Ormiston:

I am writing to you at the request of the administrative staff of the Consortium for Worker Education. We feel it is important for you to understand the GED testing situation in New York City as it relates to our program.

Our organization serves over 10,000 working men and women and we are deeply concerned at the lack of courtesy, consideration and fair treatment given to students who are scheduled to take the GED exam. Tests have been cancelled without notice, sites are noisy, students with appointments are turned away and tests begin whenever a student receives an exam booklet from the proctor. We are particularly concerned about the H.S. of Humanities where the abuses are overwhelming. Unfortunately many of our people use Humanities because it is the only site which offers Friday and Saturday testing. Our workers have to take a day off, often without pay to take this test. A Friday/Saturday site means a loss of only one day - if the test is not cancelled.

I have spoken to Dennis Hughes on several occasions. He has been unable to help us and nothing has changed. It is very frustrating to us as an organization. We are not only in the business of educating our members, we are in the business of saving jobs. In many cases saving a job means obtaining a GED. We expect our members to take the test under optimum conditions.

Attached is testimony from students, teachers and administrators regarding the abuses at the various sites. Please take the time to read their material and perhaps you will understand our deep concern.

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Some action must be taken. We would like to explore the issue of opening our own testing site and would appreciate information on the logistics of organizing this effort. You can reach me at (212) 807-0550 or at the above address. I will be in Albany on August 19th with the Executive Director of the Consortium Program. Perhaps we can meet.

The 18 member unions are extremely concerned about the treatment of the membership and expect that changes will be implemented as soon as possible.

Thank you,

Francine Boren

Francine Boren
Coordinator

FB:jcs

1199 Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees Union, RWDSU/AFL-CIO
310 West 43rd Street, New York, N.Y. 10036
(212)582-1890 X2354

July 20, 1989

1177 ADULT EDUCATION and Advancement Program
FO MEMBER AND THEIR FAMILIE

MEMO
FROM: Susan Kempler
TO: Fran Boren
RE: GED problems

The procedure for sending members to take the GED is to call Modesto Arraya at the Board of Ed to make an appointment for them at IS 70 or HS of the Humanities; otherwise, members take their application to one of the other sites themselves on one of the published dates for that site. For members taking the GED in Spanish, we call Bonnie Martinez to make an appointment at Humanities.

We have had difficulties in two areas: the first is with Mr. Arraya and the second is with the test sites.

Generally, we call the Board of Ed several weeks in advance of the test date desired by students. Frequently, Mr. Arraya tells us that he does not have enough seats for us on that date. He is not very sympathetic towards teachers' desires to plan for their classes when large numbers of their students want to take the test on a specific day--even if he's called way in advance. He has said that he's afraid of "no shows." Also, he is not sympathetic towards our members' difficulties in planning time off from their jobs in order to take the test on specific dates. Often no one checks members' names against an appointment list, so the need for appointments appears to be a bureaucratic obstacle and unnecessary.

On July 17th we received in the mail 8 applications returned by Mr. Arraya with a cover flyer stating: "NO SHOWS CAN'T BE RESCHEDULED UNTIL SEPT OR OCT. 1989." On each application was stamped over the previously requested test center, "H.S. HUMAN," and the original dates requested were crossed out with new dates written in red. We checked with one of the members who had applied to DeWitt Clinton for June 20 and 21st. He said that he never received a post card but went to the test site at 2:30 on the chosen date. The test, which was supposed to begin at 3pm had begun at 2pm. Proctors did not find his name on their list, so turned him away. No one had informed him or us of the change, and so he (and probably the others) would not have known to showup on Arraya's newly appointed dates even if they could have gotten off from work.

The procedures for making appointments need to be altered to allow for more responsiveness to working people's needs. They must also be based on a fair system instead of the whims of one person.

Some of the difficulties we have had at the test sites are listed below:

PRESIDENT
Dennis Rivera
SECRETARY TREASURER
Myles Harris
EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENTS
Katherine A Jetson • Ada Garcia
Marshall Garcia • Gerald Hudson
Beth Hughes • Eustace Jones
Edward Kay • Deborah King
VICE PRESIDENTS
Lenora Colbert Vice President Occupational Health & Safety
Sylvia Grant-Gutierrez Vice President New Organizing
Joseph Chisholm • James Crampton • James Crapps
Angela Davis • Paul Freeman • Marvin Herbert Davis
Steve Kramer • Carolmarie Mann • Dorian Mayfield
Gerard Nordenberg • John Reid • Mae Rilkin
Nona Shapiro • Carlton Wearwood

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HUMANITIES

1. March 1989: Members complained during the test that the basketball bouncing in the gym over their heads was distracting. Proctors told them that the site was shared by many groups in the community and nothing could be done to stop the basketball game.
2. June 8: The test, which had been scheduled for 3pm, did not begin until 6pm and was not over until 11pm.
3. June 15-16:
   - Members arrived along with others as early as 2pm, but were not permitted inside until 3:45. The test was scheduled to begin at 3pm.
   - Everyone was given the same test regardless of which form they had had in the past. People were allowed to begin working as soon as they received their test; people in the back of the room received theirs last. When tests were collected, collection began in the back of the room first, so that they had 10-15 minutes less time than the people in the front.
   - When one member asked a proctor what time the test would end, she was told "at 8," but at 7:30 the proctor said the test was over and collected her paper.
   - Proctors' attitudes were uncaring. One remarked that it wasn't his fault that the test started late and that the test time was cut short.
4. June 19:
   - One member who had a confirmed appointment in early May, and arrived on time, was denied entrance because, he was told, there were no seats left.
   - Other members, who were there to take the Spanish GED, were told that they couldn't take the test because there were not enough test booklets.
   - All these members had taken two days off from work and lost that pay. They also were geared up to take the test at that time and would have to prepare again for the fall.

Humanities has the only Friday-Saturday test schedule in the entire city; therefore, if members do not want to lose two-days' pay, they must use the Humanities site. The only site where summer GED tests are given is at Humanities, and there are no Saturday dates. Those dates were not published until June. On June 20th in a conversation over the phone new test dates were given by Mr. Arraya, and these dates are still not published. As of today, we have still not received the dates for the fall. All dates need to be published way in advance so that members can plan their vacations and their work schedules.

Test centers are designed for junior high and senior high school students. Our members have the indignity and discomfort of taking a test that is crucial to their upgrading and advancement in an environment where seats are too small, proctors often herd them into areas with a bullhorn, tests are begun before everyone is seated, and proctors show indifference to their questions.

In summation, GED procedures and personnel are insensitive and unresponsive to an adult working population. There appears to be no accountability from Albany to the Board of Ed to the directors of the sites to the proctors. There appears to

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be no uniformity. We have never seen a booklet on uniform procedures; to the contrary, the way the system seems to function almost across the board is erratically and irresponsibly. And, if appointments are necessary, then procedures must be modified and made more flexible.

A major problem seems to stem from a lack of direction within the sites. Is there a training program for proctors? Are they paid enough and regularly to insure a level of professionalism required of people who oversee such an important test in the lives of the people taking it? And what qualifications do site directors have and what training? Most importantly, how can they be made accountable for the system they implement?

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DISTRICT 65-U A W -A F L -C I O

13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003-6980 • (212)673-5120

CONSORTIUM FOR WORKER EDUCATION

MEMORANDUM

To: Toby Emmer

From: Jose Veras, Instructor of Spanish G.E.D.

Re: Scheduling Problems

Date: 7/19/89

Twelve students in my class were, according to their GED Practice Test results, thoroughly prepared for the Spanish GED examination. In early June, I called Bonnie Martinez, NYC Board of Education, and she said that she needed the names and dates of birth of each student in order to assign them a test date. She tentatively assigned them for July 5th and 6th. I called her a second time and gave her all the information that she requested. At that time, she confirmed the July 5th and 6th dates.

I called Ms. Martinez again on June 29th to confirm those dates and inquire about times. Ms. Martinez wasn't in and the woman who spoke to me from her office informed me that my students were signed up for the above dates and said that the times were: July 5 - 3pm - 9:30pm and July 6 - 6pm - 9:30pm. I then gave those dates and times to my students at A.C.D.P.

On July 7th, I called one of the students to ask how she did on the test. It surprised me very much when she said that they didn't take the test because, when the class went to the test site, they were told that the test had been given in the morning and they had been given the wrong times. They are all workers and lost time and pay from work on July 5th. All twelve students had shown up for the test on July 5th. On July 10th, the date they were reassigned to test, one of the students, a school aide, could not be released from her job, and eleven of the students in my class did test in the morning.

This was a big problem, based on verbal misinformation, which should be solved for next year. The students take the GED very seriously and this was both upsetting and costly for them.

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DISTRICT 65 EDUCATION FUND

DISTRICT 65-UAW-AFL-CIO · 13 ASTOR PLACE · NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003-6980 · (212) 673-5120
"INSTITUTE OF TRAINING FOR FUTURE CAREERS" (I.T.F.C.)

March 4, 1987

To Whom It May Concern:

On February 6th and 7th we took the G.E.D. test at High School for the Humanities. The conditions we experienced were terrible and we firmly believe that the Board of Education should arrange better test conditions for the students.

The following is a list of situations that occurred on those two days:

1. Confusion upon entering the school as to location of the testing room.
2. Numerous distractions, such as people conversing during the test - proctors were among the guilty parties.
3. Pingerprinting was handled during testing rather than between tests. This interrupted our train of thought.
4. Proctors had the audacity to order pizza on Friday evening and breakfast (distributing coffee, doughnuts, bread, and rolls between them) and soda on Saturday - all during the testing.
5. Students who were allowed to keep headphone radios turned on so loud that they disturbed us.
6. Very cold testing room - no heat on.
7. Proctors shoving test booklets at us and being generally inconsiderate - fraternizing with each other instead of concentrating on their work.
8. Requiring pen to write essay part of examination when only pencils were listed on the sheet of instructions we received.

District 65, UAW Students

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DISTRICT 65-U A W -A F L -C I O

13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003-6980 • (212)673-5120

CONSORTIUM FOR WORKER EDUCATION

MEMORANDUM

To: Fran Bonen

From: Toby Emmer

Re: Problems at High School for the Humanities/GED Testing Site

Date: 7/20/89

Attached is a letter I wrote to Muriel Glaser in March of 1987 regarding serious problems in the testing conditions at Humanities. Unfortunately, these problems have persisted and students this school year have reported noisy testing conditions, inefficiency which results in some students starting their tests after the timing has begun for them, basketball games just outside the room which interfere with concentration, and admission of students who were not registered to test prior to Consortium students resulting in Consortium students not getting a seat on a scheduled appointment date for which the student had often arranged to miss work.

The problem is compounded by the fact that the proctors are not hired directly by the NYC Board of Education or the State Education Department, so the responsible supervisor cannot be made accountable.

Most of the students referred by District 65-UAW can only test on Friday and Saturday so as not to miss two work days. Yet, High School for the Humanities is the only testing site available to our program which offers tests on those days. Since testing conditions there are often very poor, this impacts negatively on the workers in our program - just the opposite of what the program should be doing.

It would be very helpful to have a site set aside for the union programs where students could test at the end of the fall and spring semesters on Friday and Saturday with good testing conditions.

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DISTRICT 65 EDUCATION FUND

DISTRICT 65-UAW-AFL-CIO • 13 ASTOR PLACE • NEW YORK, N.Y. 10003-6980 • (212) 673-5120
"INSTITUTE OF TRAINING FOR FUTURE CAREERS" (I.T.F.C.)

March 25, 1987

Ms. Muriel Glaser
Coordinator, ABE/HSE Services
NYC Board of Education
347 Baltic Street
Brooklyn, NY 11201

Dear Ms. Glaser:

The students who took their G.E.D. test on February 6th and 7th returned to school visibly upset. They felt that the testing conditions were so disruptive as to negatively affect their scores. Sure enough, their scores have arrived and two of them missed passing by a few points. I would hope that was not the result of the problems at High School for the Humanities. I have enclosed a letter which the students wrote because they wanted to ensure that these conditions would not be faced by other students.

Our members work all day and come to school two evenings a week to prepare for the G.E.D. examination. As you know, passage of the exam can mean that the students reach goals long worked for - entrance into a training program, college, or promotion. These are matter of survival, not taken lightly by our students. We, therefore, hold classes which offer a high level of instruction in which the students' involvement and concentration are maximized. You can imagine our students' distress, then, when the examination for which they had prepared involved these conditions.

The Board of Education has provided seats at the High School for the Humanities testing site for Consortium for Worker Literacy students. We would like an assurance that this matter is being looked into so that we can feel comfortable [illegible]ring students to this site.

Please let me know what steps are being taken to look into this matter. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Ms. Toby Emmer, Director
Dist. 65-UAW
Labor Consortium for Literacy

cc: Modesto Arraiz
Anthony Alvarado

enclosure

APPENDIX C

CIVIL SERVICE EXAMINATION FOR RAILROAD CLERK

RAILROAD CLERK

SAMPLE PRACTICE EXAMINATION II

DIRECTIONS FOR ANSWERING QUESTIONS

Each question has four suggested answers, lettered A, B, C, and D. Decide which one is the best answer and on the sample answer sheet locate the question number and darken the area with a soft pencil which corresponds to the answer that you have selected.

The time allowed for the entire examination is 3 hours.

1. Subway employees are required to be courteous to the public mainly because it

(A) makes the employees more efficient (B) is the best way to get people to use the subways (C) makes the job more pleasant (D) is a logical part of the service rendered for the fare.

2. Railroad clerks should

(A) personally try and sell as many tokens as possible (B) tidy up the area near their booth when things are slow (C) be able to advise passengers how to get to desired places (D) make a daily comparison between passengers entering and passengers exiting at the station.

3. If a railroad clerk notices a person in the station acting in a definitely suspicious manner, the clerk should

(A) go to the person and question him or her (B) ignore the matter and wait for developments (C) request a passenger to investigate (D) call the transit police and report the matter.

Questions 4 to 10 inclusive refer to the Tabulation of Turnstile Readings shown below, and to the notes given beneath the tabulation. Refer to this tabulation and the notes in answering these questions.

TABULATION OF TURNSTILE READINGS

TURNSTILE NUMBER	TURNSTILE READINGS AT					
	5:30 AM	6:00 AM	7:00 AM	8:00 AM	9:00 AM	10:00 AM
1	38921	38931	39044	39435	39706	39863
2	67683	67886	67592	68128	68917	69065
3	65387	65408	65611	66414	67326	67461
4	22538	22542	22631	23061	23613	23720

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Notes: 1. Turnstiles are operated by tokens costing 90 cents each.
2. The subway entrance at which these turnstiles are located is open, with a railroad clerk on duty, from 5:30 A.M. to 10:00 A.M.

4. The number of passengers using turnstile No. 3 from 7:00 A.M. to 8:00 A.M. was

(A) 203 (B) 803 (C) 910 (D) 1197.

5. The turnstile used by the most passengers from 8:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M. was No.

(A) 1 (B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4.

6. The number of passengers using turnstile No. 4 in the first half hour was

(A) 4 (B) 10 (C) 21 (D) 23.

7. The total number of passengers using turnstile No. 2 from opening to closing was

(A) 922 (B) 1182 (C) 1595 (D) 2074.

8. The most used turnstile from opening to closing was No.

(A) 1 (B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4.

9. From 8:00 A.M. to 9:00 A.M. the railroad clerk sold exactly 1000 tokens, while the turnstile readings, for the four turnstiles show that a total of 2500 passengers passed through them in the same period. The number of passengers who purchased tokens was most probably

(A) less than 1000 (B) exactly 1000 (C) between 1000 and 1500
(D) exactly 2500.

10. The cash taken in for the 1000 tokens of Question 9 was

(A) $500.00 (B) $90.00 (C) $900.00 (D) $7500.00

11. Radio City is located nearest to

(A) Columbus Circle (B) Queens Plaza (C) Hudson Terminal (D) Union Square.

12. A railroad clerk would be most directly involved in case of a passenger who
(A) collapsed at a turnstile (B) was struck by a car door (C) was overcome by smoke in an under-river tunnel (D) fell on the street at the entrance to the subway.

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Questions 13 to 22 inclusive are based on the portion of a Timetable shown below. Refer to this timetable in answering these questions.

TIMETABLE - "BH" LINE - WEEKDAYS

	NORTHBOUND				SOUTHBOUND				
Train No.	Hall St. Leave	Ann St. Leave	Best St. Leave	Knob Avenue Arrive	Knob Avenue Leave	Best St Leave	Ann St. Leave	Hall St. Arrive	Hall St. Leave
88	7:35	7:50	8:05	8:15	8:20	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:05
89	7:50	8:05	8:20	8:30	8:35	8:45	9:00	9:15	9:20
90	8:05	8:20	8:35	8:45	8:50	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:35
91	8:20	8:35	8:50	9:00	9:05	9:15	9:30	9:45	9:50
92	8:30	8:45	9:00	9:10	9:15	9:25	9:40	9:55	10:00
93	8:40	8:55	9:10	9:20	9:25	9:35	9:50	10:05	10:10
94	8:50	9:05	9:20	9:30	9:35	9:45	10:00	10:15	10:20
95	9:00	9:15	9:30	9:40	9:45	9:55	10:10	10:25	10:30
88	9:05	9:20	9:35	9:45	9:50	10:00	10:15	10:30	LU *
96	9:10	9:25	9:40	9:50	9:55	10:05	10:20	10:35	10:40
97	9:15	9:30	9:45	9:55	10:00	10:10	10:25	10:40	LU *
89	9:20	9:35	9:50	10:00	10:05	10:15	10:30	10:45	10:50

LU * means that the train is taken out of passenger service at the location where LU appears.

Note: Assume that the arrival times at Ann St. and Best St. are the same as the leaving times.

13. The total number of different train numbers listed in the portion of the timetable shown is
(A) 9 (B) 10 (C) 11 (D) 12.

14. For train No. 95, the average of the running times from Hall St. to Ann St., from Ann St. to Best St., and from Best St. to Knob Ave., is about
(A) 12 minutes (B) 13 minutes (C) 14 minutes (D) 15 minutes.

15. A passenger leaving Hall St. on the 7:50 train is going to Knob Ave. to take care of some business. If his business takes a total of one hour, he can be back at Hall St. by about
(A) 8:50 (B) 9:20 (C) 10:15 (D) 10:40.

16. A passenger reaching Ann St. at 9:17 to leave on a northbound train would expect to arrive at Knob Ave., at
(A) 9:35 (B) 9:45 (C) 9:50 (D) 10:15.

17. The total number of trains for which two complete round-trips are shown in the timetable is
(A) 4 (B) 3 (C) 2 (D) 1.

18. A person reaching Best St. at 9:03 to board a southbound train would have to wait until
(A) 9:05 (B) 9:10 (C) 9:15 (D) 9:20.

19. The length of time required for any train to make the northbound run from Hall St. to Knob Ave. is
(A) 40 minutes (B) 45 minutes (C) 50 minutes (D) 85 minutes.

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20. The length of time that trains are scheduled to remain at Hall St. is

(A) always 5 minutes (B) always 10 minutes (C) always 15 minutes (D) either 5 or 10 minutes.

21. From the entries in the timetable, you can infer that the location near which there is most likely to be a subway yard to store trains is

(A) Ann St. (B) Bost St. (C) Knob Ave. (D) Hall St.

22. For train No. 91, the total length of time, including the 5-minute layover at Knob Ave., required for one round trip from Hall St. to Knob Ave. and return is

(A) 80 minutes (B) 85 minutes (C) 90 minutes (D) 120 minutes.

Questions 23 to 32 inclusive in Column I are the names of well-known places in New York City each of which is situated in one of the four boroughs listed in Column II. For each name in Column I select the borough in which it is situated from Column II. PRINT on your answer sheet, in the correspondingly numbered question space, the letter given beside your selected borough.

QUESTION

	Column I (name)	Column II (boroughs)
23.	Bowling Green	(A) Bronx
24.	Aqueduct Race Track	
25.	Flushing Meadow Park	(B) Brooklyn
26.	Manhattan Beach	
27.	Washington Square	(C) Manhattan
28.	Pelham Bay Park	
29.	City Hall	(D) Queens
30.	Woodlawn Cemetary	
31.	Canarsie Beach Park	
32.	La Guardia Airport	

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33. There is a rule that unauthorized employees are prohibited from entering on the subway tracks. The basic reason for this rule is that the practice

(A) is dangerous (B) is objectionable (C) is unlawful (D) interferes with train service.

34. It would be expected that the greatest number of passengers would use the subway on

(A) Labor Day (B) Columbus Day (C) Thanksgiving (D) Monday, December 18th.

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35. A passenger asks for five tokens and hands the railroad clerk a ten dollar bill. The smallest number of bills the passenger can be given is

(A) 1 (B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4

36. The fact that railroad clerks must be acceptable for bonding would most probably disqualify a person

(A) who had numerous charge accounts (B) who is near-sighted (C) who had only handled small amounts of money (D) with a record of money irregularities.

37. The best way for the average regular subway passenger to avoid the annoyance of waiting in line to buy tokens is to buy them on a

(A) weekly basis when entering the subway (B) daily basis when leaving the subway (C) weekly basis when leaving the subway (D) daily basis when entering the subway.

38. There is a free subway transfer point at Columbus Circle. This transfer is between the divisions of the

(A) BMT and IND (B) BMT and IRT (C) IND and IRT (D) BMT, IND, and IRT.

39. By logical reasoning it can be concluded that the principal duty of a railroad clerk who is assigned to an exit gate is to

(A) prevent cheating (B) give directions (C) sell tokens (D) eliminate crowding.

40. To change from Daylight Saving Time to Standard Time, the hands of the clock are moved

(A) ahead in autumn (B) back in autumn (C) back in spring (D) ahead in spring.

41. A location which is City-owned is

(A) Statue of Liberty (B) Madison Square Garden (C) Central Park (D) Radio City.

42. The official rules prohibit a baby carriage containing a baby from being admitted into the subway. This is mainly because the

(A) baby may become sick (B) carriage would be difficult to get through the controls (C) carriage is likely to interfere with passengers (D) baby may be crushed.

43. On checking a pile of tickets arranged in numerical order, you find that the next ticket after number 17,474 is number 17,747. The number of tickets missing is

(A) 171 (B) 272 (C) 373 (D) 474.

44. For many years efforts have continuously been made by the City and by various civic organizations to have employers stagger the working hours of their employees in order to

(A) reduce rush hour congestion (B) increase subway revenue (C) give employees more time for recreation (D) have the trains carry more people.

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23.3 - 5.72 BOX 1	$491.26 - 127.47 BOX 2	$7.95 ÷ $0.15 BOX 3	4758 1639 2075 864 23 BOX 4	27.6 179.47 8.73 46.5 BOX 5
243 x 57 BOX 6	57697 - 5748 BOX 7	23.65 x 9.7 BOX 8	3/4 x 250 BOX 9	25)1975 BOX 10

Questions 45 to 54 inclusive refer to the arithmetic examples shown in the boxes above. Be sure to refer to the proper box when answering each question.

45. **The difference between the two numbers in Box 1 is**
(A) 17.42 (B) 17.58 (C) 23.35 (D) 29.02.

46. **The difference between the two numbers in Box 2 is**
(A) $274.73 (B) $363.79 (C) $374.69 (D) $618.73.

47. **The result of the division indicated in Box 3 is**
(A) $0.53 (B) $5.30 (C) 5.3 (D) 53.

48. **The sum of the five numbers in Box 4 is**
(A) 8355 (B) 9359 (C) 9534 (D) 10359.

49. **The sum of the four numbers in Box 5 is**
(A) 262.30 (B) 272.23 (C) 372.23 (D) 372.30.

50. **The product of the two numbers in Box 6 is**
(A) 138.51 (B) 1385.1 (C) 13851 (D) 138510.

51. **The difference between the two numbers in Box 7 is**
(A) 67445 (B) 45949 (C) 47949 (D) 40945.

52. **The product of the two numbers in Box 8 is**
(A) 22.9405 (B) 229.405 (C) 2294.05 (D) 229405.

53. **The product of the two numbers in Box 9 is**
(A) 65 (B) 120 (C) 195 (D) 240.

54. **The result of the division indicated in Box 10 is**
(A) 790 (B) 379 (C) 179 (D) 79.

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Questions 55 to 60 inclusive are based on the Bulletin Order given below. Refer to this bulletin order when answering these questions.

BULLETIN ORDER NO. 67

Subject: Procedure for Handling Fire Occurences June, 17, 1981

In order that the Fire Department may be notified of all fires, even those that have been extinguished by our own employees, any employee having knowledge of a fire must notify the Station Department Office immediately on the telephone extentions: D-4177, D-4181, D-4185 or D-4189.

Specific information regarding the fire should include the location of the fire, the approximate distance north or south of the nearest station, and the track designation, line and division.

In addition, the report should contain information as to the status of the fire and whether our forces have extinguished it of if Fire Department equipment is required.

When all information has been obtained, the Station Supervisor in Charge in the Station Department Office will notify the Desk Trainmaster of the Division involved.

Richard Roe,
Superintendent

55. An employee having knowledge of a fire should first notify the
(A) Station Department Office (B) Fire Department (C) Desk Trainmaster
(D) Station Supervisor.

56. If bulletin order number 1 was issued on January 2, bulletins are being issued at the monthly average of
(A) 8 (B) 10 (C) 12 (D) 14.

57. It is clear from the bulletin that
(A) employees are expected to be expert fire fighters (B) many fires occur on the transit system (C) train service is usually suspended whenever a fire occurs (D) some fires are extinguished without the help of the Fire Department.

58. From the information furnished in this bulletin, it can be assumed that the
(A) Station Department Office handles a considerable number of telephone calls
(B) Superintendent investigates the handling of all subway fires (C) Fire Department is notified only in case of large fires (D) employee first having knowledge of the fire must call all 4 extensions.

59. The probable reason for notifying the Fire Department even when the fire has been extinguished by a subway employee is because the Fire Department is
(A) a city agency (B) still responsible to check the fire (C) concerned with fire prevention (D) required to clean up after the fire.

60. Information about the fire not specifically required is
(A) track (B) time of day (C) station (D) division.

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61. The subway station which is nearest to Radio City is

(A) 50th St. on the IND "E" Line (B) 59th St. on the IRT Broadway Line (C) 49th St. on the BMT Brighton Line (D) 50th St. on the IND "D" Line.

62. As compared with salt, the use of sand on icy station stairways is

(A) more effective (B) more expensive (C) less corrosive (D) less work.

63. Overall, the Transit Authority is mostly concerned with

(A) keeping the subways clean (B) assuring the safety of the riding public (C) having passengers buy large quantities of tokens (D) promoting employees.

64. A railroad clerk should be most concerned if a passenger says that

(A) trains are running behind schedule (B) he lost a nickel in a vending machine (C) there is no soap in the men's room (D) a small child is wandering around the platform unattended.

65. There is a free subway transfer point at Times Square. This transfer is between the divisions of the

(A) BMT and IND (B) BMT and IRT (C) IND and IRT (D) BMT, IND, and IRT.

66. Railroad clerks should realize that transit employees become acquainted with new regulations mainly through

(A) notices posted on bulletin boards (B) verbal orders from their superiors (C) re-issues of the book of rules (D) talking to co-workers.

67. In making a report concerning an accident which took place on a stairway from the mezzanine to the train platform at a subway station, the least important item to include is the

(A) time of day (B) date (C) number of steps (D) weather.

68. It has been suggested that the 90-cent tokens used for rides on the subway should be sold in packages. Under such a plan, the largest saving to the riders would be if the tokens were sold

(A) 2 for $1.70 (B) 3 for $2.60 (C) 5 for $4.40 (D) 7 for $6.20

69. Railroad clerks are prohibited from taking razor blades into a change booth. The most likely reason is that the razor blades

(A) are fragile and easily broken (B) are personal property (C) are not required by the clerks in the discharge of their duties (D) may cause an accident.

70. The subway line which uses a bridge over the East River for some of its service is the

(A) IND Washington Heights Line (B) IRT Lexington Ave. Line (C) BMT Brighton Line (D) IND Rockaway Line.

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Questions 71 to 77 inclusive are based on the Article given below. Refer to this article when answering these questions.

ARTICLE NO. 123

CHANGE BOOTH CLASSIFICATION AND DESIGNATION

1. 24 Hour Booth. Any booth manned continuously.
2. Part-Time Booth. Any booth ordinarily manned for less than 24 hours in one day.
3. Station Head Booth. One 24 hour booth in each station, at which the railroad clerk is in general charge of the station, and in some cases from which a part-time booth funds and block tickets are drawn.
4. Area Control Booth. A 24 hour booth at which night lunch relisfs report "in" and "out" and which is a lost property depository point where mail is delivered to and from, and in some cases from which part-time booth funds and block tickets are drawn.
5. Transfer Booth. A 24 hour booth, or part-time booth allocated for the exclusive handling of transfers.

QUESTION

71. All subway stations have a booth classified as number
(A) 2 (B) 3 (C) 4 (D) 5.

72. The block tickets referred to would most likely be used for
(A) substitution of tokens when the supply is exhausted (B) temporary interruption in train service (C) refunding purposes in case of a stuck turnstile (D) issuance to passengers who complain about train service.

73. It is evident that there would <u>not</u> be any money kept in a booth classified as number
(A) 2 (B) 3 (C) 4 (D) 5.

74. From the information furnished in this article, it can correctly be said that
(A) transfer booths are always open 24 hours a day (B) station head booths are more important than area control booths (C) money is not left in an unattended booth (D) mail is delivered to the area control booth by the night lunch relief man.

75. A railroad clerk in a number 5 booth is informed by a passenger that he left a package on the subway station bench the previous night. The passenger should be directed to the nearest booth classified as number
(A) 1 (B) 2 (C) 3 (D) 4.

76. A logical conclusion is that
(A) booths classified as number 2 are used in non-rush hours (B) there are more change booths than there are stations (C) the size of a booth determines its classification (D) there are transfers handled at all stations.

77. The railroad clerk who would have the most authority at a station would be at a booth classified as number
(A) 1 (B) 3 (C) 4 (D) 5.

78. Official photographers for the various New York newspapers do not require special permission to take pictures on the stations of the New York City transit system. A likely reason for this procedure is because

(A) the station is not a restricted area (B) all publicity is good (C) of "the freedom of the press" (D) it provides free advertising.

79. There is a free transfer point between all three subway divisions at

(A) Coney Island (B) Herald Square (C) Broadway-Nassau St. (D) Broadway-168th St.

80. It is correct to say that the

(A) Lincoln Tunnel is under the East River (B) George Washington Bridge connects Manhattan and New Jersey (C) Williamsburg Bridge is near Yankee Stadium (D) Queens-Midtown Tunnel is under the Harlem River.

81. A Transit Authority bulletin states that "A smile has more than its face value. It takes 65 muscles to frown and only 13 to smile." From the form of this statement it can logically be concluded that the main purpose is to

(A) be humorous (B) have employees smile at all times (C) provide medical information (D) make an effective impact on the employees.

82. It is customary during each year for hourly turnstile meter readings to be taken on a typical day of the week for a 3 or 4 week period. Such readings would be most useful to

(A) reveal the passenger pattern for the day (B) keep the railroad clerks busy (C) act as a check on the performance of the railroad clerks (D) show if additional change booths are needed.

83. The greatest number of subway lines operate through the borough of

(A) Bronx (B) Brooklyn (C) Manhattan (D) Queens.

84. The subway line which only operates east and west is the

(A) IND Crosstown (B) BMT Franklin Ave. Shuttle (C) IRT Flushing (D) IRT 42nd St. Shuttle.

85. A passenger gave a railroad clerk a ten-dollar bill and asked for six tokens. In the change returned by the clerk, the passenger received four one-dollar bills, 1 quarter, 3 dimes, and 2 nickels. In this case, the clerk gave the passenger

(A) five cents too much (B) the correct change (C) ten cents too little (D) five cents too little.

86. On the official printed forms prepared by the railroad clerks their names must be both printed and signed. The reason for the signature is for the purpose of

(A) authenticity (B) simplicity (C) neatness (D) correctness.

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87. The article turned in to a railroad clerk, which would most likely require special handling is

(A) an empty wallet (B) an umbrella (C) a pair of shoes (D) a frozen turkey.

88. There is a subway station at Penn Station on the

(A) BMT Sea Beach Line (B) IRT Broadway Line (C) IND 6th Ave. Line
(D) IRT Flushing Line.

89. At a subway station located in the financial district, the turnstile readings would most likely show the greatest number of passengers entering the station between the hours of

(A) 8:00 A.M. and 10:00 A.M. (B) 10:00 A.M. and 12 noon
(C) 4:00 P.M. and 6:00 P.M. (D) 6:00 P.M. and 8:00 P.M.

90. The Port of New York Authority bus terminal in upper Manhattan is located at

(A) 179th St. and Broadway (B) Grant's Tomb (C) Dyckman St. and Broadway. (D) 242nd St.

91. The Transit Authority has under consideration several programs to be taken in order to encourage more riders to use its facilities. Of the following, the program which is not being given serious consideration is

(A) safer riding conditions (B) improved equipment maintenance (C) discounted fares (D) cleaner facilities.

92. The subway maps which are displayed at stations do <u>not</u> show which

(A) lines give part-time service only (B) boroughs the subway lines are located in (C) stations call for an extra fare (D) stations are located on elevated structures.

93. Railroad clerks have either day or night assignments, selecting their tour of duty by a seniority pick. The most probable reason for using this method is to

(A) reward length of service (B) give every employee the assignment he desires
(C) encourage new employees (D) avoid difficulty in filling assignments.

94. If a passenger asks you how to reach a certain destination with which you are not acquainted, your best procedure would be to

(A) tell him you do not know (B) look it up if possible (C) tell him to ask some passenger (D) call the police precinct.

95. Members of the New York City Police and Fire Departments when in uniform or upon presentation of their badges, will be carried free on the transit system. The reason for this is that

(A) they are easy to identify (B) they are City employees (C) their rate of pay is low (D) they travel a considerable amount on official business.

96. A subway line which has a station at Yankee Stadium is the

(A) IND "BB" Line (B) IRT Pelham Bay Line (C) IND "A" Line
(D) IRT Jerome Ave. Line.

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97. A railroad clerk must pass a color vision test before appointment. One reason for this is because

(A) it is a measure of general health (B) various colored passes are used for free transportation on the subway system (C) the clerk may be offered counterfeit money in payment for tokens (D) bulletin orders are sometimes printed on colored paper.

98. If a passenger at the change booth complains about the service, the railroad clerk should

(A) refrain from arguing (B) call the immediate superior (C) ask the passenger for name and address (D) argue with the passenger.

99. The recommended first aid procedure for a person who has fainted is to lay him or her down with the head lower than the body. Such a position is used because it

(A) quickly relieves exhaustion (B) is the most comfortable position (C) speeds the return of blood to the head (D) retards rapid breathing.

100. If an ambulance is required for an injured passenger, all subway employees including railroad clerks are instructed to call the transit police department and have them call the ambulance. An important reason for such procedure is to

(A) enable the clerk to concentrate on regular duties (B) provide faster service (C) fix responsibility (D) avoid possible duplication of calls.

Answer Key

1. D	14. B	27. C	39. A	51. C	63. B	75. D	88. B
2. C	15. C	28. A	40. B	52. B	64. D	76. B	89. C
3. D	16. B	29. C	41. C	53. C	65. B	77. B	90. A
4. B	17. C	30. A	42. C	54. D	66. A	78. A	91. C
5. C	18. C	31. B	43. B	55. A	67. C	79. C	92. D
6. A	19. A	32. D	44. A	56. C	68. A	80. B	93. A
7. C	20. A	33. A	45. B	57. D	69. D	81. D	94. B
8. C	21. D	34. D	46. B	58. A	70. C	82. A	95. D
9. A	22. B	35. A	47. D	59. C	71. B	83. C	96. D
10. C	23. C	36. D	48. B	60. B	72. B	84. D	97. B
11. A	24. D	37. C	49. A	61. A	73. D	85. A	98. A
12. A	25. D	38. C	50. C	62. C	74. C	86. A	99. C
13. B	26. B					87. D	100. D

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APPENDIX D

GERALD M.'S RESUME

Mr. Gerald Wilson
1013 East 223rd. Street
Bronx, New York 10466

SALES/RETAIL:

- Assessed supply and demand in order to insure appropriate purchasing and delivery of merchandise in a timely manner
- Assisted in the development and implementation of all merchandising strategies
- Assisted in the assurance of fiscal responsibility of retail business
- Assured effective and interesting displays for sale items on a daily basis
- Assured the preparation and submission of accurate receipts for all meals served
- Assured proper maintenance of all baseball equipment

SUPERVISION/ORGANIZATION:

- Developed and coordinated work schedules for all sales personnel
- Supervised bus boys in order to assure quality service to hotel clients and guests
- Organized and directed playing strategies for baseball team

INTERPERSONAL SKILLS:

1983 — Actively assisted in developing and implementing political campaign strategies in the British Virgin Islands

1979-1981 — Successfully performed duties of team manager in order to assure the cooperation and maximum performance of all team members. Received awards for outstanding sportmanship

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1970-1983	Initiated and maintained a congenial rapport with Hotel clients and guests during performance of duties as hotel waiter

EXPERIENCE:

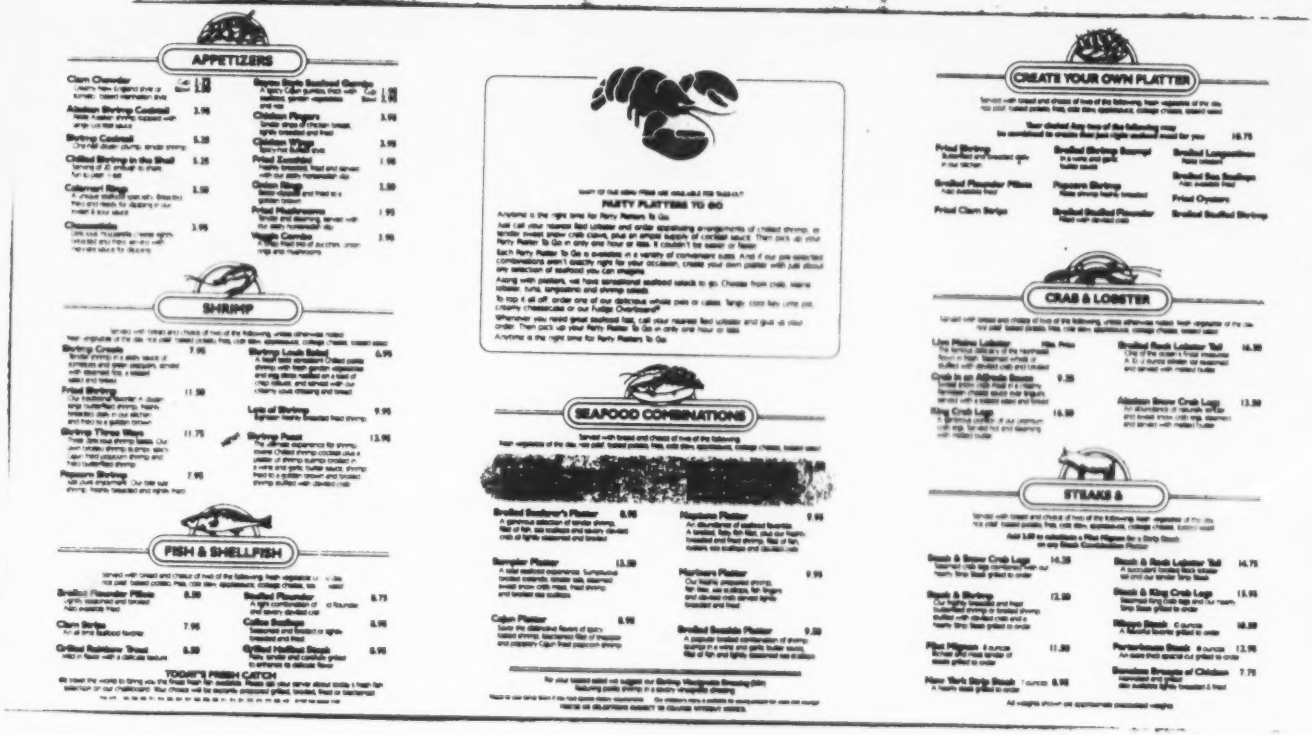
1986-Present	Red Lobster; Waiter
1986	El Torito; Security
1983-1985	Self-employed Entrepreneur; St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands
1979-1985	Pitcher/manager with St. Thomas Braves (avocation)
1973-1983	Frenchman's Reef/Holiday Inn, Waiter; St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands
1970-1973	Pineapple Beach Hotel, Waiter; St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands
1968-1970	Taxi Dispatcher
1967-1968	Union Local, Messenger; St. Thomas, U.S. Virgin Islands
1963-1968	Gas Station Attendant

EDUCATION:

1963	Roadtown Private School Roadtown, Tortola, British Virgin Islands

APPENDIX E

RED LOBSTER MENU



APPETIZERS

Clam Chowder
Alaskan Shrimp Cocktail
Shrimp Cocktail
Chilled Shrimp in the Shell
Calamari Rings
Quesadillas
Bayou Style Seafood Gumbo
Chicken Fingers
Chicken Wings
Fried Zucchini
Onion Rings
Fried Mushrooms
Vegetable Combo

SHRIMP

Shrimp Creole
Fried Shrimp
Shrimp Three Ways
Popcorn Shrimp
Shrimp Louie Salad
Legs of Shrimp
Shrimp Feast

FISH & SHELLFISH

Seafood Pasquale Pilaf
Clam Strips
Grilled Rainbow Trout
Seafood Pasquale
Cajun Scallops
Grilled Halibut Steak

TODAY'S FRESH CATCH

PARTY PLATTERS TO GO

Anytime is the right time for Perry Platters To Go.

Just call your nearest Red Lobster and order assorted arrangements of chilled shrimp, or tender, sweet, snow crab claws, plus an ample supply of cocktail sauce. Then pick up your Perry Platter To Go in only one hour or less. It couldn't be easier or faster.

Each Perry Platter To Go is available in a variety of complement sizes. And if our pre-selected combinations aren't exactly right for your occasion, create your own platter with just about any selection of seafood you can imagine.

Along with platters, we have sensational seafood salads to go. Choose from crab, warm lobster, tuna, langostino, and shrimp salads.

To top it all off, order one of our delicious whole pies or cakes. Tangy, cool Key Lime pie, creamy cheesecake or our Fudge Overboard!®

Whenever you need great seafood fast, call your nearest Red Lobster and give us your order. Then pick up your Perry Platter To Go in only one hour or less.

Anytime is the right time for Perry Platters To Go.

SEAFOOD COMBINATIONS

Broiled Seafarer's Platter
Bermuda Platter
Cajun Platter
Neptune Platter
Mariner's Platter
Broiled Seaside Platter

CREATE YOUR OWN PLATTER

Fried Shrimp
Broiled Shrimp Scampi
Broiled Langostinos
Broiled Sea Scallops
Fried Clam Strips
Popcorn Shrimp
Fried Oysters
Broiled Stuffed Flounder
Broiled Stuffed Shrimp

CRAB & LOBSTER

Live Maine Lobster
Crab Imperial
King Crab Legs
Broiled Rock Lobster Tail
Alaskan Snow Crab Legs

STEAKS &

Sirloin & Snow Crab Legs
Sirloin & Shrimp
Filet Mignon
New York Strip Steak
Sirloin & Rock Lobster Tail
Sirloin & King Crab Legs
Mango Steak
Porterhouse Steak
Boneless Breasts of Chicken

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APPENDIX F

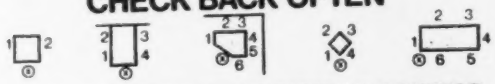
RED LOBSTER GUEST CHECK

SMILE AND BE FRIENDLY
YOU ARE THE SEAFOOD EXPERT

SUGGEST YOUR FAVORITE

APPETIZERS
WINES/DRINKS
SIDE ORDERS
FRESH FISH
DESSERTS

CHECK BACK OFTEN



TAKE ORDERS LEFT TO RIGHT CLOCKWISE

SERVER			TABLE NO.		PERSONS
CASH	CHARGE	CERTIFICATES		OUT	TIME
STORE	SERVER	DATE	IN	FROM	CHECK
1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					
8					
9					
10					
11					
12					
13					
14					
15					

630-2036 BEVERAGE

1					
2					
3					
4					
5					
6					
7					

KITCHEN CHECK

ABSTRACT

ADULT LITERACY: CASE STUDIES OF ADULTS ATTENDING LITERACY CLASSES

Francine Boren Gilkenson, PhD
Fordham University, New York, 1990
Mentor: Rita S. Brause, EdD

This study described and analyzed the uses of literacy at school, home, and work of two working adults labeled functionally illiterate, as measured by a score of 5.0 or less on a standardized reading test.

Observational case study was the research model used. The researcher collected data over a period of 18 months at five sites which included the classroom setting, work sites, and homes of the participants. Data collected and analyzed included field notes, researcher memos, transcripts of audio tapes, documents, personal records, and information interviews.

In general, school was found to be a place where judgments and assumptions were made about the participants. Judgments and assumptions were based on standardized test scores and affect the curriculum, teaching practices, class placement, and labeling of these adults. The school

program underestimated and misunderstood these adults and limited access to knowledge, mobility, and power.

Five factors describing these adults were identified. They are resource networks (defined as individuals or groups of people who serve as resources for these participants, offering access to information and literacy events), goal orientation/motivation (defined as the ability to articulate goals and have a future focus), self-direction/independence (defined as engaging in activities where responsibility for planning and carrying out the endeavor is assumed by the individual), uses of literacy (defined as engaging in reading and writing activities for a specific purpose or function that is meaningful to the individual), and success (defined as work-related achievement, having material possessions).

The major findings of this study are five hypotheses which suggest that the integration of these factors into an education program for working adults would result in improved instruction and greater program success.

VITA

VITA

Name	Francine Boren Gilkenson
Place of Birth	Bronx, New York
High School	Flushing High School Flushing, New York Graduated June 1960
Bachelor of Arts Education	Queens College Flushing, New York Conferred June 1966
Master of Arts Elementary School Guidance	Teachers College Columbia University New York, New York Conferred June 1969
Professional Diploma Administration and Supervision	Fordham University New York, New York Conferred May 1981
Doctor of Philosophy Education	Fordham University New York, New York Granted May 1990
Present Position	Coordinator Consortium for Worker Education New York, New York